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AN
HISTORICAL ADDRESS,

ON THE CALAMITIES OCCASIONED BY

Foreign Influence,

IN THE NOMINATION OF BISHOPS TO

IRISH SEES.

PART II.

By the Rev. C. O'CONOR, D.D.

“ Clama ne cesses—quasi Tuba exalta vocem.” Isai. lviii.

Phalaris licet imperet ut sis.

Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuriam tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori.

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1812.


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JUL 1954
MAR 1955

To the MOST NOBLE

The MARQUIS of BUCKINGHAM.

MY LORD,

THE merit, whatever there may be, in the following sheets, is owing to the Patronage I have experienced from You; the faults, which, I fear, are many, are exclusively my own.—They possess however one merit, which, from the honour of a long acquaintance, I am sure must recommend them to a Mind such as your's,—that of very honestly, very plainly, and perhaps very forcibly submitting to a nation, whom you always respected, esteemed, and cherished, TRUTHS of the greatest importance to its prosperity; as tending to elucidate and confirm the several relations which the Nobility, Gentry, Clergy, and People of Ireland mutually bear to each other, in support of that



Constitutional form of Government to which, under God, we look for our National prosperity.

These Historical Truths, and the inferences drawn from them, will be well recommended to every description of persons in my native country, from the confidence which they naturally repose in a name so justly respected by them, as Your's; and I humbly hope, that they may ultimately tend to establish those blessings, which the divine truths, taught by a well-regulated Clergy, can alone secure to all classes of the Irish people.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

With the most sincere respect and gratitude,

Your Lordship's

Most obedient humble Servant,

C. O'CONOR.

St. Patrick's Day, 17th March, 1812.

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* On comparison of different surveys in 1689, the whole number of acres was found about 10 millions 400,000 Irish, 21 feet to the perch, or about 17 millions English measure. See a Tract printed by Baldwin, and presented to the King, Lond. 1689.

From the proceedings of the Commons ten years afterwards, 1699, Lond. printed 1742, vol. 3, p. 109, it appears that all the forfeited lands at that period made 1060,792 acres, worth £211,223 per. ann.

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HISTORICAL ADDRESS.

PART II.

§ I. *Dangerous doctrines, which demand the immediate interference of legal restraint in Ireland.*

1. **A**S there are revolutions of Empires, so are there of manners. To the simple manners of the Roman Republic succeeded the luxurious and debauched manners of the Roman Empire. Next followed the manners of the Northern nations, in the 5th and 6th centuries; the 7th and 8th were distinguished by the conquests and manners of the Moors; the 9th and 10th by those of the Normans; the feudal system was improved in the 11th and 12th, by the crusades; navigation and discoveries of unknown worlds, accompanied the art of print-

ing in the 15th century; the 16th, 17th, and 18th, may well be defined ages of *theological controversy*; the 19th was the age of *commerce*.—For us was it reserved to be consigned to the barbarism of *political scribbling*, the crude, the indigested effusions of literary self-conceit!—Never was there any age, when the rage of writing was carried to such excess, or when men were less qualified for writing well. Scurrility is substituted for learning, calumny for argument, vulgarity for wit! Who can read, without feeling deeply for the character of the episcopal order, the cart loads of *scurrilous pastoral letters*, calumnious newspaper libels, and pamphlets, which have lately issued from the uncouth, the ungodly pen of the English Vicar Apostolic of *Castabala*?

The following sheets will satisfy every candid Catholic, that such men are endeavouring, for purposes of *uncontrollable* power, to give a *dangerous* bias to the ignorant mass of the Irish people; that some such remedies as are indicated at the *conclusion* of this volume, must be immediately applied; and that the Nobility,

Gentry, and Clergy of Ireland, stand in need of something better than a *lawless*, and an *ad libitum* Church! Yes—Countrymen—the *Castabalas* inform us that—

The *Discipline of the Council of Trent* is as obligatory on five millions of British subjects as the doctrine of Seven Sacraments!* That Bishops exclusively have a right to judge and to *decide* on *all matters* touching faith and discipline; that, supposing a Catholic to have a seat in Parliament, if he should dare to vote on any question touching the discipline of the Irish Church, he becomes *ipso facto* a *schismatic*; that he is consequently to be denied the benefit of the Mass, and of the Sacraments; that the Pope may crown one King, as he did Bonaparte, and uncrown another; absolve all Frenchmen from their oaths of allegiance to the Bourbon race; dispossess any number of Bishops of their Sees, without a *trial*, without a *hearing*, nay, without a *cause*, merely by the *plenitude of his power*; that in virtue of the same power, *delegated to them*, they may deprive any Priest of his benefice, without assigning a cause.† They even maintain, and that professedly, and in print, that they can exclude the second order of the Clergy from Synods; that they can

* See the V. A. of *Castabala's* words, p. 114 of the following sheets, from his *Letters*, Dublin, 1811.

† See the *Appeal* of the French exiled Bishops against Pope Pius VIIth's Bull, "*Qui Christi Domini Vices*," published at Rome, Nov. 29, 1801, and against his Bull—"*Ecclesia Christi*," Aug. 15, 1801.—This *Appeal* I had the honour of receiving from the hands of the late Bishop of S. Pol de Leon, who had it printed and published by *Dulau*, London 1804.

hold. Synods *foribus clausis*, as they did at *Waterford, Kilkenny*, and *Clochuachter*, where they took an *oath of secrecy*, and excommunicated Lord Clanricard, the only Catholic Lord Lieutenant Ireland had since the reformation; they also assert, and have acted on this assertion, in a late Synod of Dublin, that they have an *exclusive* right to dictate to the second order, in matters relating to their *temporal* concerns; and, for the purpose of establishing this *lawless* system of Church Government, they have done that, which Tertullian assigns as a proof of heretical designs, they have *corrupted the Scriptures*!*

These are not antiquated maxims; far from it.—They are pertinaciously stickled for in innumerable pamphlets, pastoral letters, and Synods of the last six years!—Pope Pius VIIth's Bulls, "*Qui Christi Vices*," and "*Ecclesia Christi*," claim a right to do and to undo, *ad libitum*,—"all laws of the Church notwithstanding,"—and the Irish Bishops, assembled at Tullow, have declared that this claim of a power to lay prostrate at his feet *all the* most venerable maxims, and ordinances of the Christian world, is *just, holy, and legitimate*!

* See their corruption of *Acts xx, 28*, noticed in *Columbanus*, No. iv, p. 20. This text is *repeatedly* corrupted by the V. A. of Castabala, in his *Elucid. of the Veto*, p. 34, Letters to an Irish Prelate, p. 90, &c. &c.

Columbanus has objected to these maxims as *dangerous* innovations ; he has shewn that, notwithstanding the *oath of allegiance*, by which we swear that the Pope has no power, direct or *indirect*, over the temporalities of States, yet the Irish Bishops, assembled in Synod at *Tul-loe*, so lately as on the 6th of June, 1809, have extolled as *just, holy, legitimate*, those Bulls of Pope Pius VII, by which he has absolved all Frenchmen from their oaths of allegiance to the Bourbons, *expressly* alienating not only the crown of France, but also the properties of all French loyalists, *secular* and ecclesiastical, and hurling down from their Sees above a hundred Bishops, who are guilty of no other crime than that of conscientious regard for their oaths, and fidelity to their Prince ; and this too without even stipulating for any compensation ; without giving them a *trial*, though they demanded it ; without giving them a *hearing*, though they prayed for it ; without granting that, which was not denied to the Irish even by Cromwell,—*any species of capitulation !*

Columbanus has dared to ask what are *oaths of allegiance*, if they who have sworn that the Pope has no power direct or *indirect* over the temporalities of the British Islands, have hardly taken that oath with their lips, when they maintain in *pamphlets* and *pastoral letters*, that the Pope has an *exclusive* power to nominate to Church livings of very considerable income, and of very *direct* influence, in the government of five millions of people?—The Bishops are indeed so *generous* as to admit, that the State may have a negative in the nomination of a Chaplain to administer Sacraments to felons in Newgate.—But to a Bishopric—*not at all*.—This may, perhaps, be a *holy* mode of *intriguing*, or *coquetting* with an oath; but it is *dangerous* and uncatholic; it emanates from principles which have always brought a load of unmerited obloquy on the Catholic religion, and which have been proscribed by our Parliaments, in the most Catholic times!

Some slanderous pamphlets, disgraceful to the literature and to the manners of our Country

have appeared in reply to *Columbanus*.—But they may be all reduced to one short answer, which Rinuccini and his sycophant Bishops made to the Nobility, Gentry, and second order of the Irish Clergy, in 1647,—namely—that *Bishops alone* have a right to judge of these matters; and that those who will not *implicitly* and *unconditionally* submit to assert or to retract whatever they order, whether they are in or out of Parliament, however high or numerous they may be, shall be denied the benefits of Christianity, and treated as *schismatical*.—Here then is an *avowed* attempt, masked indeed, but clumsily, stupidly masked by religion, to render the Bishops at once *judges* and *accusers*, *witnesses* and *parties*, in *all matters* touching the Irish Catholic Church; to establish an *unlimited dominion* over the second order of the Clergy, which is not permitted even to the Pope,* which was proscribed

* The veryest Italian Theologians scout the doctrine of censures *ad libitum*, as fit only for the latitude of the *Divan*. See *Contini's* Dictionary of Heresies. *Venice, cum licentia Superiorum*, word *Aerio*, t. 1, p. 61, and *Launoius's* Epistles,

as illegal, and resisted as intolerable in the most Catholic times!

2. However repugnant these pretensions may be to the doctrine of S. Paul, "*let your obedience be rational,*" yet, could I make allowances for the waywardness of the human will, which always tends to despotism, and even for these strange publications, if I could discover in them, any one quality, which might render them palatable to a classical taste. Sometimes even the most impious doctrines come recommended by perspicuity; if the maxims are profligate, yet the language is terse; lack of learning may be supplied by a selection of the choicest words; by splendour of imagery; by vivacity and playfulness of wit. But in these publications, each sluggish line draggles, like a cart horse carrying lumber after his leader, with a stupid monotony of nonsense, vulgarity of epithet, and coarseness of calumny, which

fol. p. 18, &c. with the second edition of *Jus Belgarum*, contra receptionem Bullarum Pontificiorum. Liege 1665. *Dupin* *Traité de l' Excom.* *Biblioth. des Auteurs du 18me siecle*, p. 58, 59.

exposes their writers to derision, and their abettors to disgrace!—Here is neither *theory* nor *history*.—*Assertion* after *assertion*, followed here and there by a miserable *non sequitur*, seems to stare, like^d an idiot, at that strange thing which precedes, and that stranger thing which follows it; and feeling itself out of place, and out of time, shivering with cold, starved with hunger, pinched with poverty, conscious of weakness, and looking round to every contiguous word for a portion of life, it seems with a beggarly tone to petition for a pittance of animation to save it from despair.

Columbanus would honestly acknowledge superiority, if not of truth and argument, at least of brilliancy and vigour, if he saw even the sophistry of his Countryman *Celestius*; if he could find falsehood screened by eloquence, or ignorance by style. Splendour of diction and fertility of fancy cover a multitude of sins.—But here is falsehood in all its deformity.—In these effusions of dulness, and inventions of malignity, we find neither harmony of cadence, nor vigour of construction, neither truth in the

premises, nor accuracy in the conclusions! However Irishmen may be accused of blundering in conversation—surely we are not such *diggers of our own graves* as to truckle to such blundering as this.

Is Columbanus practised in the *Mac-Sycophant* art of *booing* and *booing* to such stupidity of intellect, such starvation of mind? He hopes not—He will not *affect* modesty where he is conscious of superior vigour; nor does he apprehend that he can, in the eye of any rational observer, be liable to the imputation of self-conceit, if, arguing from the incoherent and insipid effusions of indigested malignity, which disgrace the *sickly* pages of the Vicar of Castabala,* he dares to assert that, having only such feeble opponents to encounter, he can walk at his leisure, and even loiter over the course.

No—He will not disguise or disgrace his real character, by any *fictitious* appearance of

* He declares that Columbanus has *made him sick*. Letters, p. 106.—The foulest stomachs most commonly require the strongest medicines.

humility.—Every hypocritical cry of *religion in danger*, every *fradulent* clamour of *schism* and *heresy*, every attempt to abuse the piety of the people, and to take advantage of their ignorance, Columbanus's heart swells with the generous eagerness of his Ancestors to oppose; and his pen is determined, in defiance of all calumny, to detect.

Most willingly would he overlook the errors of ignorance. Error is the common lot of mortality: and he knows that error may be innocent, *if it is sincere*. But every man who entertains any sense of decorum will admit, that in recurring to slander, and to *uncanonical* censures, and in daring to refuse the Sacraments to his opponents, *before they are convicted of any crime*, the foreign-influenced Bishop of Castabala, impelled by passions which he ought to be the first to reprobate, and panting for a power which he pretends that *no power on earth can controul*, endeavours to overwhelm discussion by sanctified malice, to smother truth in its birth, as Herod destroyed the innocents, to raise a clamour of *heresy* where no heresy

can be found,* and to render the very Sacraments subservient to his anger, perverting them into engines of personal malignity, and using them as instruments of systematic revenge.—“*Flectere si nequeo Superos, Acheronta movebo.*”

In vain does he hope that Columbanus may be tempted by falsehood, or provoked by insolence, to descend from that superiority which historical truth and manly argument have conferred, into a contemptible warfare of personality. No—Columbanus will not brawl with defeated spleen, nor will he hurl back the revilings of disgraced ignorance. Imputations


* “ Doctor O’Conor, says he, maintains that *all spiritual power*, whether of excommunication, suspension, the withholding or withdrawing of spiritual faculties, should be subject to the civil power.”—Letters, &c. Dublin, 1811, p. 98.

Now I defy him to find any such doctrine in my works, and, until he does, I charge him not only with *propagating* and *publishing*, but also with the *malicious invention* of slander. My arguments apply not to genuine spiritual power, but to a horrible *abuse of it*; and I have said nothing on this subject, which has not been repeatedly said by hundreds of the most orthodox Catholic Divines, as shall be shewn in the sequel.

of heresy, and excommunications of malice, are cheap commodities, in which it is beneath the dignity of a Columbanus to contend; nor ought the tongue which has been consecrated to piety, to be profaned by slander; or the life which has been dedicated to Religion, to be contaminated by malice. The pen of a Vicar Apostolic which has been, by a Charity School education, plucked from under the wing of the Altar, ought not to be prostituted to falsehood;* the Sacraments which have been instituted by our Saviour for the remission of sins, ought not to be rendered subservient to the vilest ebullitions of envy and revenge?

3. It has indeed been argued, and some foreign influenced Vicars have dared to quote the Scriptures in support of the assertion, that

* I defy the Vicar of Castabala to make good his assertion, that he can name an English Priest to whom I made promises connected with my expected promotion to the Diocese of Elphin. Letters, p. 82. I solemnly appeal to God that this is, in every part of it, a direct falsehood. I bid defiance.—Name---Name.



falsehood may be propagated for the sake of truth, that there may be a *holy Lie*, and that a *pious fraud* has often been practised even by the Saints. Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, undertakes to prove, and bestows a whole chapter of his celebrated *Præparatio Evangelica* on demonstrating, expressly "that it is often necessary to use falsehood as a medicine for those who cannot be convinced without it,"
 ὅτι δεῖται ποτε τῷ ψεῦδι δει ἀντι φαρμάκῳ χρῆσθαι ἐπὶ ἀφελαι-
 τῶν δοκούντων τῆ τριστερῆ τροπῇ, Præp. Ev. l. 12, c. §1.

But though the over-righteous Antinomian is above ordinances, though he insists that the obligations of morality are suspended in favour of the Elect, and that, guided by an internal principle of holiness, he, *good soul*, is above the *beggarly elements* of truth and justice, yet, countrymen of the great Columbanus, you who revere the virtues of that greatest father of the western world, do you not believe that to do *evil* in order that good may come of it, is an abomination in the eye of God? and do you not observe that the Rinuccini doctrine of *blind*

submission, even to uncanonical and *unjust* Censures *ad libitum*, is *still* maintained?*

Alas! my Countrymen, entertaining, as I most sincerely do, noble and lofty ideas of the

* “Supposing Doctor O’Conor’s account of the Irish Rebellion as bad as he represents it, (says the Bishop of Castabala,) I maintain that it is quite as just to reproach the present Parliament with the rebellious and regicide proceedings of the Long Parliament, as it is to charge the present Catholic Bishops, and the poor prisoner in the dungeon of Savona, with any thing amiss, which might have been done by Catholic Ecclesiastics during the same precise period in Ireland.” Letters, p. 114. Now, I admit that this long-winded period and foolish argument might be tolerated without indignation, if we did not all know that the present Parliament not only does not maintain the principles of the Long Parliament, but on the contrary, that it publicly proscribes those principles. But do the present Bishops proscribe the maxims of Rinuccinni? Do they not in private, and in public, and in *practice* endeavour to enforce the doctrine of *Censures ad libitum* by which Rinuccini and his sycophant Bishops compelled the second order of the Clergy to deny the Sacraments of Mercy to all those who did not obey their arbitrary Decrees? Has not the Bishop of Castabala ordered the Rev. Mr. Corbeishley of Tusmore to refuse the Sacraments to Dr. O’Conor, unless the Doctor will implicitly submit to retract something, he knows not what, in *Columbanus*? Have not the four Apostolical Vicars *in Synod* agreed privately in a *New Test Act*, by which all the French Clergy are excluded from the Ministry, unless they become Rebels to

generosity of your temper, respecting even the errors of many of you, not excepting *Mr. Keogh*, whose talents I respect, perceiving with a mixture of admiration and delight that your hearts pant for the rational liberties of your country, allow me to ask, is it true, can it be true, that whilst you are engaged in so noble a struggle, so worthy of your ancestors and of you, your own children who endeavour to dash from your unsuspecting lips the poisoned

their King by approving of the Concordat of Pius VII. with Buonaparte? Can this be denied?---If not, then the *Rinuccini* *leven exists to this day*. And really are these principles consistent with the safety of the State?

Has not the *poor* prisoner of Savona, virtually absolved all Frenchmen from their oaths of allegiance by crowning Buonaparte? Has he not thereby renewed the rancid doctrine of crowning and uncrowning Kings? and have not the Irish Bishops, assembled in their exclusive Synod of *Tullow*, in direct violation of their oaths of Allegiance, by which they renounce these doctrines in *words*, approved of these proceedings of Pope Pius VII, and sanctioned the same doctrines by *facts*, and that too so lately as on the 6th of June, 1809!

Away then with the impudent attempt to throw dust into the eyes of the discerning, by comparing the present Bishops of England and Ireland with the present Parliament. Let them first submit to the most venerable Canons of the Catholic Church. “*Fiat justitia.*”

·bowl of arbitrary and uncanonical Censures *ad libitum*, who dare to expose the point of a temporal sword peeping from under the hem of a sanctified garment, who unfold the worldly passions as they proceed, mitred, in solemn procession, to the Altar of the Lamb of God, incensing their precious *selves* at the expence of the Religion you profess, are held up to you as wolves in sheep's clothing, suspended as heretics, calumniated as immoral, pointed out as persons unworthy and unfit to be received under your rooves, and that you can for a moment be imposed upon by the cheat? Is it thus that you will give to Englishmen lofty notions of your deserving to be admitted into the bosom of the Constitution?

4. Surely if we can patiently endure that a trick so stale, which was detected, and exposed, by our Lynches, and Walshes, our Darcey's and Bellings, in the 17th century, can thus be played off at our doors in the meridian splendour of the 19th, our friends in Parliament can hardly boast of the purity or correctness of our ideas of civil or religious Liberty, or of our know-

ledge, and attachment to the genuine principles of that mixed Monarchy which forms the glorious, and, I hope, immortal basis of our Liberties and Laws? If we so countenance the dangerous maxims of Ultramontane intrigue, and allow them to prevail in the very shrines of our ancient Fathers, do we not establish for millions yet unborn the very principles by which Rinuccini lorded over our Gentry and Nobility in 1646, the *exclusive* maxims which shut the doors of our Synods against the Second Order of our Clergy, the appointment of Bishops without Election, the doctrine that Bishops *alone* shall judge and decide on *all* matters, whether mixed or unmixed, relating to the Irish Church, Suspensions and Depositions without any judicial proceedings, and Star-chamber Despots, who shall be at once *accusers* and *judges*, *witnesses* and *parties*, in causes *personal* to themselves?

5. Those who entertain just notions of rational liberty do not relish the clanking of arbitrary chains, especially in matters so nearly touching their domestic tranquility, their friends, their

Altars, and their fire-sides. They do not like to witness an *avowed* and daring violation of the most sacred Laws of their Church, which require that no man shall be condemned without a trial, no man deprived of his commission without a Canonical sentence, no man calumniated with impunity. If the Sacraments of mercy can be refused for resistance to unjust and uncanonical Censures, then adieu to the *honest* spirit of Christianity in the Irish nation.* Cicero knew that the temper of the Roman people would bear him out, when he appealed to them against the arbitrary flagellations of a Verres. He had only to relate the *fact*, that Verres had ordered a Roman citizen to be degraded before he was tried, to be punished before he was convicted; the people heard him, and they trembled with indignation.†

6. Would any Protestant Bishop in England or

* See a Statement of the Canons by which Clergymen are to be judged, in the next Section of these sheets.

† Cicero in Verrem, Act. ii. c. 62. "Cædebatur Virgis in medio foro Messanæ civis Romanus," &c.

Ireland pretend to an arbitrary power of punishing offenders according to his own *will and pleasure*? Must they not govern according to the *common Law Ecclesiastical*? and are not the ancient Ecclesiastical Laws, which were enacted in Catholic times, still in force in the British Islands?—A Statute of the 25th H. viii, c. 19, enacts, “that such Canons, Constitutions, Ordinances, and Synodals Provincial being already made, which be not *contrariant nor repugnant to the Laws, Statutes, and customs of this Realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King’s Prerogative Royal, shall now still be used and executed as they were afore the making of this Act?*”

The English Bishops of greatest learning acknowledge that the Laws by which their Churches are governed, are those which were adhered to in Catholic times, all along from the Norman invasion, throughout a period of seven hundred years.*

* “As to the method of proceeding in the Ecclesiastical Courts, it is no other than hath been continued here, with-

It was the deep sense which the Roman people had of the crime of condemning *without a trial*, that overawed the Magistrates of Philippi, when S. Paul threatened to appeal against them to the Romans. “They have beaten us
 “openly uncondemned, says he, we being Ro-
 “mans, and have cast us into prison, and now do
 “they thrust us out privily?—Nay, verily, but
 “let them come themselves and fetch us out.
 “—And the Sergeants told these words unto

“out interruption, till of late years, ever since the Conquest.”
 Stillingfleet’s Rights of the Parochial Clergy, Lond. 1702,
 p. 103. See also Lyndwood and Beveridge.

The Protestant Bishops, far from pretending to this species of arbitrary Church Government, disclaim it as *intolerable*, and repugnant not only to the British Constitution, but to the most venerable Canons of the English Church.

“We Bishops cannot proceed arbitrarily: we must allow
 “our Clergy timely notice: we must summon them to ap-
 “pear, and give them a just liberty of defence.” Ibid. p. 98.
 He adds, “that arbitrary Episcopal Courts are repugnant to
 “*natural justice*, nothing could be more grievous and *intoler-*
 “*able*, or more *inconsistent with the common rights of Man-*
 “*kind*.” Ib. p. 106 and 109. Compare Duguet Devoirs d’
 un Eveque, and Dupin’s Biblioth. des Auteurs du 18me
 siecle. Paris, 1736, t. 2, p. 3.

“ the Magistrates, and they feared, when they
 “ heard that they were Romans.” Acts xvi. 37.

Could this argument have been used, could this appeal to the feelings of the Roman people have been effectual, could it have alarmed the Tyrants of Philippi, if the people were as insensible of the enormity of this crime, as those Vicars are, who dare to maintain, even in Print, that they can exercise the spiritual authority of the Lamb of God *at will*, and censure, as in the days of *Rinuccini*, and withdraw faculties, and *exclusively* decide, and judge of *all matters* relating to faith and discipline, without any form of judicial proceeding, without any *trial*, any *hearing*, or even any allegation of a canonical cause.

Does that Manly and *rational feeling* which protected S. Paul exist amongst the Irish? Or is it true that their minds sink under an arbitrary Censure, into unresisting credulity? and that as General Preston, overawed by the excommunication of 1646, *violated his plighted faith* to the D. of Ormond, and *deserted with*

his whole army to the Pope's Nuncio,* so are there now men who maintain, that we must not enquire whether censures are just or unjust, that it belongs to Bishops exclusively to decide whether they are or are not, and that the fear of an excommunication, *however unjust*, ought to prevent us from doing our duty?†

7. And is it really true that an Irish Catholic Barrister, is callous to the disgrace of undertaking to vindicate that *lawless* exercise of arbitrary power, which, masked by the sacred name of *Religious* Independence, dares to wield *at will* the thunder of the Almighty?—Would any constitutional Lawyer be guilty of such a crime?—Would such a man as my learned friend *Mr. Charles Butler* of Lin-

* Nuncio's Memoirs. fol. 1413—1419. Carte's Orm. v. 1. p. 589, Clanricard's Mem. fol. Lond.

“Preston's Army had not yet shewn that they were excommunication proof, at a time when the bare *pretence* of Religion served to make men plead conscience for a *breach* of *faith*.” Ib. p. 593.—Compare *Historical Address*, part i. p. 245. Carte's Orm. v. I, p. 594.

† This is the 95th proposition of the Bull *Unigenitus*, which no foreign influenced Bishop dares to condemn.

coln's Inn Fields, at any period of his life, lend himself to such a prostitution of his abilities? Could he be tempted by a beggarly subscription to set at defiance the most sacred Canons of the Catholic Church? Would any of the Lawyers who conducted the affairs of the Irish Catholics in 1646, Nicholas Plunket, Nicholas Barnwell, Sir R. Belling, Geoffrey Browne, Pat. Darcy, Thomas Burke, J. Bellew, Garret Cheevers, would they disgrace themselves by becoming the Panders of a Pandolf? *

8. If the Irish Catholic Barristers of the present day have thus far wandered from the manly and genuine Catholic Principles of their Brethren, who opposed the Rinuccini Bishops from 1646, to 1680, if the Irish are yet involved in the misty darkness of the 17th century, if an unjust excommunication, or an uncanonical

* Those Irish who opposed the Nuncio's proceedings, says Carte, were chiefly under the influence of the Catholic Lawyers, *Mr. N. Plunket*, uncle to Lord Fingal, (see MS. Memoirs of Mr. Plunket,) *Mr. Birford*, and *Mr. P. Darcey*, *Orm. v. i. p. 165.*

Censure can yet be rendered an engine of Clerical faction, and any one who opposes such principles can, by that engine, be deprived of his subsistence in the Irish Church, you must permit me, my Countrymen, and it is with grief I utter the sentence, to entertain a doubt, whether any Statesman, even the most liberal and enlightened, could conscientiously consent to, the *unqualified* emancipation of the Irish people.*

* “ Les excommunications *injustes* ne nuisent que a ceux
 “ qui les prononcent, et non a ceux qui en sont frappes. Le
 “ celebre Gerson ne craint point de dire que la doctrine qui
 “ enseigne qu’ il faut craindre ces excommunications est
 “ *erronee, contraire aux Canons*, et contre les bonnes mœurs.”
 Dupin Traité des Excom. et Biblioth. des Auteurs Eccl. du
 18me Siecle Paris 1636, t. 1, p. 46. “ L’ excommunication
 “ nulle n’ a *aucun effet*. On n’ est obligé de l’ executer meme
 “ au for exterieur.” ib. pag. 58.

The Statuta Generalia Barchinonensia enact, that no
 Prælate shall censure any Clergyman until he is *fairly con-*
victed.—“ Non possunt Prælati in Actis Judicialibus, secun-
 “ dum suum arbitrium procedere, cum certum sit Lege Divina
 “ et naturali eos teneri ad ordinem substantialem Juris. Ideo
 “ statuimus ut nullus Prælatus contra inauditam partem, vel
 “ contra eum qui non fuerit sufficienter *convictus*, aut *confessus*,
 “ sententiam aliquam gravem ferat, qua quispiam vel actibus
 “ legitimis, vel officiis ordinis privetur, vel in exilium reli-
 “ getur, aut notabile aliquod nocumentum reo inferatur.”

Our Bishops must *unequivocally*, and by *facts*, renounce those maxims of Ultramontaniam which have caused so many calamities to Ireland. They must recal their own Acts in the Synod of Tullow, by which they have sanctioned the Pope's power to crown one King and to uncrown another, and by which, in violation of their oaths of allegiance, they have approved of his *indirectly* absolving the French from their allegiance to the legitimate successor of one hundred Kings! They must retract their approbation of his present Holiness Pope Pius VIIth's Bulls, "*Qui Christi Domini*," "*Vices*," and "*Ecclesia Christi*," by which he claims a power of deposing Bishops, without even a *hearing*, and in defiance of the most sacred disciplinal Laws of the Catholic Church!*

* The language of these Bulls is so extraordinary, that to obviate all calumnies relative to my fidelity in translating them, I beg leave to give extracts from the translation of the Bishop of S. Pol de Leon.

" Nous derogons expressement au consentement des legi-
 " times Archeveques et Eveques, et des chapitres des Eglises
 " respectives; comme aussi de tous autres Ordinaires quel-
 " conques, et nous leur interdions a perpetuite, tout exercice

I have elsewhere noticed, that Papal Briefs and Bulls, which are published without the consent of the Roman Clergy,

“ *de quelque Jurisdiction Ecclesiastique qui ce puisse etre ; de-*
 “ *clarant de nulle force tout ce qu’ aucun d’ eux entrepren-*
 “ *droit.*” Reclamations Canon. a Londres 1804, p. 11.—

There is no instance of this in the Christian Church ; and yet the Irish Bishops have approved of this Bull, and of the other still more extraordinary Bull, “ *Ecclesia Christi*,” which not only confirms it, but absolutely interdicts all *reasoning*, all *objecting*, all *censure*, and all *opposition*, in these words :—

“ Nous statuons que les presentes Lettres ne pourront jamais
 “ *en aucun temps*, etre taxees de vice de subreption, d’ obrep-
 “ ou de nullite, ou de quelque autre default qui ce puisse
 “ etre, qu’ elles ne pourront *jamaïs* etre attaquees, pour ces
 “ causes, mais qu’ elles sont et *seront toujours fermes, valides,*
 “ *et efficaces*, et qu’ elles doivent ressortir et avoir leur plein
 “ et entier effet, et etre inviolablement observees, *non obstant*
 “ *les dispositions des Synodes, Conciles Provinciaux et Gene-*
 “ *raux,*” &c. *ib.* p. 26. And again, “ Nous voulons que les
 “ presentes lettres et toutes le dispositions qu’ elles contien-
 “ nent ne puissent etre attaquees, meme a raison de ce que
 “ quelques personnes que ce puisse etre, de quelque etat Ec-
 “ clesiastique ou *Seculiere* qu’ elles soient, n’ ont point *consenti*
 “ *aux dites dispositions*, ou n’ ont point ete *appelles*, ou n’ ont
 “ *ete aucunement entendues*, ou pour quelque autre cause que
 “ ce puisse etre, meme de lesion, ou d’ *alleurs juridique*, ou
 “ de quelque autre default *quelque grand qu’ on le suppose*,
 “ quand il seroit *substantiel, et tres substantiel*, mai qu’ etant
 “ faites comme d’ office de *Providence Pontificale*, et emanees
 “ de notre *propre mouvement*, et de la plenitude de notre

however they may be sanctioned by the Pope individually, or by the Pope with *only some of* the Representatives of the Roman Clergy, are not to be deemed Decisions of the *Holy See*, and it so happens that in this very Bull, the Pope expressly declares that he gives it with the consent only of *some* of the Cardinals—

“ Apres avoir entendu les avis de *plusieurs* de
 “ nos venerables freres les Cardinaux de la S.
 “ Eglise Romaine, nous derogons a tout con-
 “ sentement des legitimes Archeveques, et
 “ Eveques, des chapitres, et de tous autres
 “ Ordinaires.” *

Independently therefore of this Bull being

“ puissance Apostolique, elles soient *pour toujours*, de la ma-
 “ niere la plus inebranlable valides et efficaces.” ib. p. 28—
 29. I say again that the darkest ages have not witnessed any Bull so extraordinary as this.

* Pope Cælestine I. who sent S. Patrick into Ireland, declares that the Holy See *has no power above the Canons*.
 “ Dominentur nobis Regulæ, non Regulis dominemur. Con-
 “ tra statuta Patrum concedere aliquid, ne hujus quidem
 “ Sedis potest auctoritas. Apud nos enim inconvulsis radi-
 “ cibus vivit antiquitas, cui Decreta Patrum sanxere
 “ reverentiam.” Ep. 1. ad Ep. Illyr. “ We cannot violate
 “ the Rules of the Church, (says Pope S. Martin;) we
 “ are their *Guardians*, not their *transgressors*.” I. Ep. ix.

invalid, because it sets the Pope *above all the Laws* of the Church,* it is invalid also in point of form. It is not an *ex Cathedra* Decision. It is not the Act of the *Holy See*. And yet so anxious are the Irish Bishops to establish the Doctrine of *arbitrary power* in the Episcopal order, that they have, in the strongest terms, declared their *unqualified* approbation of all those Bulls, and Acts by which Pius VII has ratified a Concordat with the Attila of modern times; though one of those Acts, the crowning of that Attila, implies *a right to crown* him, and an absolution of all Frenchmen from their allegiance to the Bourbon race!

If not only the ignorant, ill-fated rabble of Ireland, but even the Catholic Barrister will venture to exhibit himself the champion of such maxims, so diametrically hostile to the principles of English Law, and of English Statutes, enacted even in the most Catholic times, then adieu to the Emancipation of my country! I shall shew in the sequel that

* Ib. p. 27.

these maxims have cost Ireland millions of money and millions of lives.

Mean time be it remembered that as there is a point beyond which mercy ceases to be mercy, and becomes connivance, so there is also a point beyond which obedience ceases to be a virtue, and sycophant compliance becomes confederacy in guilt.

§ II. *Laws yet in force by which ecclesiastical causes are to be decided.—Irish Bishops not qualified to decide on all such causes.—They cannot tender oaths.—Provincial and National Councils, as now constituted in Ireland, inadequate to decide Canonically.—Genuine Laws on which decisions must be founded.*

1. “No people on earth—says the V. Bishop of Castabala, can make laws of *any kind* for “the spiritual kingdom of J. C.” Let. p. 90.

Be not imposed upon—good reader.—By the kingdom of J. C. he means the Bishops *exclusively*.—“*Bishops alone*, says he, have a “right to judge and decide on *all matters* relating to faith and discipline. The claims of

“all others however high, powerful, or numerous, are vain and schismatical.” *Elucid. of Veto*, p. 48.

What then were the ecclesiastical laws of the Saxon kings, *Ina, Withred, Edgar,* Alfred, Canut*, which have been published by Spelman, Whelock, Lambard, Wilkins, Johnson, Beveridge, Lyndwood? What were the *Capitularia Regum Francorum*, which have been so eruditely published by the learned Baluz? †—Really does the education of a Vicar

* Of Egbert's Canons Spelman says that there were several ancient MS. Copies. *Concil. Angl. t. I. p. 258.* Selden owns that the Cotton MS. is of the time of Henry I, but suspects that another made the collection. I see no reason however for such a suspicion. Egbert was brother to the king of Northumbria, and a great promoter of ecclesiastical learning, as appears by his dialogue published by Ware, Dublin 1664, also from Bede's epistle to him a little before his death, and from Alcuin's concerning him. We might as well suspect those of Theodore of Canterbury. Gratuitous doubts are as inadmissible as gratuitous assertions. Every one can doubt, and mere opinion is the last refuge of ignorance.

† Baluzius quotes a MS. of the 9th century in his own private collection, the second number of which contained a copy of the seven books of Charlemagne's Capitularies, and the Acts of an *Irish Council* relating to marriage. Another

Apostolic, or of an Irish Bishop, qualify him to judge in matters *personal* to himself, with that disinterested and legal knowledge, which such laws so imperiously require? In all Catholic countries, the *abuse* of spiritual power was, by the civil laws subjected, without appeal, and in *dernier resort*, to the civil magistrate.* Do Irish Bishops pretend to be more wise, more learned, or more Catholic than the other Bishops of Catholic Europe, who submitted, as all subjects are bound to submit, in matters

copy was preserved in the Royal Library at Paris. vol. 1, p. 55—56. Every Irish MS. ought to be carefully preserved.

The Saxon Canons, Concil. Angl. 1, 600, are but translations from those of Theodulphus of Orleans. A. D. 786.

* “ L’ excommunication ne peut etre porte avant que l’
 “ accusè ne soit cité, et que son crime ne soit constant: *Les*
 “ *Rois*, come protecteurs de la Discipline Ecclesiastique, et
 “ obligees de conserver le bon ordre dans leurs etats, ont
 “ toujours eu aussi le pouvoir de s’ opposer a ceux qui, *abu-*
 “ *sant de leur autorité spirituelle*, portoient sans raison des
 “ excommunications contre leurs Sujets, et ils out *encore* ce
 “ pouvoir, que on ne peut leur oter.” Dupin Traité His-
 “ torique des Excom. &c. t. 1, Paris 1715, t. 2, ib. 1719. and
 Continuation de la Biblioth. Eccl. du 18me siecle, t. 1. p.
 33,—39.

of *abuse* to the laws of the state? It is one of the nicest points in all criminal proceedings, and in all causes in which the passions are deeply concerned, to determine what is *good and sufficient evidence*. Witnesses must be free from infamy, both of law and of fact; they must not be liable to any just suspicion of partiality; they must be *upon oath*; and what authority have our Bishops to tender an oath? and why should any British subject be liable to suffer by any testimony *without an oath*, when the laws of his country so positively require it?—I have no idea of surrendering my birthright to the arbitrary and uncanonical ipse dixits of foreign influenced intrigue.

* “ On appelle comme d’abus des jugemens rendus par les
 “ Juges Ecclesiastiques, s’ils sont contraires aux ordonnances
 “ Royaux, aux Arrêts, aux constitutions canoniques, aux
 “ Libertes de l’Eglise Gallicane, ou enfin lorsque ces Juges
 “ entreprennent sur la Jurisdiction Seculiere. Les Appellations
 “ comme d’abus se portent toujours aux *Cours Souveraines*,
 “ et elles suspendent l’execution *des sentences*.” Pontas
 Dictionnaire Portat. des cas de Conscience a Lyon 1770, voce
Appel. t. 1, p. 56.

The Vicar of Castabala indeed informs us that,—“ being called upon by his office to “ examine into a reported miracle, he *juridically* “ proved it to be true, both as to the fact “ itself, and the *supernatural nature of it*, “ by the testimony of numberless credible “ witnesses.”—Now as to the *fact* of a cure by cold bathing I question it not; but how this sapient Theologue could *tender an oath*, to prove *juridically* what he so *classically* styles the *supernatural nature* of that fact, is a circumstance which, from delicacy to him, I abstain from examining. He has sworn to obey the civil laws of his country, and one of those is that he shall not *tender an oath*!

Let us state a case for the consideration of the Legislature.—The Bishops have declared in Synod, that they *exclusively* have a right to determine on *all matters* touching the Discipline of the Catholic Church, and that the interference of *all others* is *schismatical*. Now suppose *Lord Fingal*, or any other Catholic, is admitted to Parliament, and a bill is introduced

enacting that the Discipline of the *Council of Trent*, of which some *very important points* shall be specified in my next Section, shall no longer be observed in the British Islands, more than it was in Catholic France, how is Lord Fingal to act? He is *authoritatively* informed that if he intermeddles, he *ceases to be a Catholic*. His P. Priest is ordered to deny him the Sacraments. He is to all intents and purposes of Religion excommunicated. Where is he to apply for redress? A judge must be free from all suspicion of contrivance and conspiracy, and *not be judge and party* at once; and really is it to be supposed that a Vicar Apostolic, who does not stop at the grossest calumnies, is superior to all those titillations of humanity, which might impell him to give a decision in his own favour? Will he really pass sentence against his own passions, his interest, and his reputation?

3. Oh—but the cause may be tried in a Provincial Council.

Let us suppose an appeal from a Clergyman of the Second Order to such a Council against

one of the first. Alas! what a situation will be that of the Appellant?—I should have no objection whatever if such Councils were free and public as formerly. But now they profess to exclude the Second Order of the Clergy.* Here then is the *Esprit de Corps* on one side; no Counsel, no jury of Peers impannelled, no equality, no publicity, on the other! The judges, the jury, the witnesses, the accusers, are all on the bench; and it is well known that, in such Assemblies, as they are *now constituted*, some few leading Men sway the opinions of all

* In a letter written by the Vicar Bishop of Castabala to a French Priest, dated Wolverhampton, so lately as September 6, 1811—which letter is now before me in his own hand—I find the following passage—“It was agreed upon by all the
“four English Bishops in Synod (an exclusive Synod, to which not one of the Second Order, the persons principally concerned was admitted) in February last, that Priests receiving faculties in future, should declare their assent to the
“following propositions, (a new *Test Act* in favor of the
“Pope’s infallibility!)—1. That they hold communion with
“his Holiness Pope Pius VII.—2. That they do not believe
“the said Pope to have fallen into heresy or schism.—3. That
“they do not consider him as being the author or approver
“of any heresy or schism.”

the rest, and that arbitrary Courts, like the star chamber, are inconsistent with the common and natural, as well as with the legal rights of mankind.—Would this mode of proceeding be canonical?—most certainly not. The canons most positively enjoin that all such judgments shall be the result of the calm deliberations and discussions of the second order of the Clergy, as well as of the first.*

* “Nullus Metropolitanus Episcopus, absque cæterorum
 “omnium comprovincialium Episcoporum instantia, aliquorum
 “audiat causas Episcoporum; quia *irritæ erunt*.—Imo nec
 “suorum Sacerdotum causas audiat abque *præsencia cleri-*
 “*corum suorum*, quia *irrita erit sententia* Episcopi, nisi præ-
 “sentia Clericorum confirmetur.”—Titulus de non judicando
 quenquam ante examinatam causam, in Baluzius’s edition of
 the Capitularies tom. 1, pag. 908, and again pag. 1196. This
 is but a repetition of the Canon, Capitularia, lib. 7, c. 106,
 ib. p. 1046 “ut nullus Metropolitanus,” &c. It may be
 seen also in the Collection of Angilramnus c. 14, Burchard
 l. 1, c. 65, Ivo part 1. c. 174, and 260 Gratian 9, 9, 3, c. 4
 and 30, 9, 5, c. 11, 9, 6, c. “Si quis Clericus salvo”, Concil
 Antioch Can. 9. Concil Angl. t. 1, p. 331, c. xi, D’Acheri
 Spicileg. t. 1, p. 196. The Justinian and Theodosian Codes
 agree *De Judiciis*, and Ivo again, part 6, c. 316 and 331, Titu-
 lus ut nullus Metropolitanus, &c. ex Synodo Romana
 tertia c. vi.

4. Let us suppose that the Rev. P. Grady, Parish Priest of Ballymote, in the C. of Sligo, cruelly aggrieved, as he states, should apply for justice to a Synod of Bishops, alledging his doubts whether his Bishop, having been appointed since the commitment of Pope Pius VII to a French Prison, is Canonically appointed to the See of Achonry, and demanding Legal evidence of his legitimate nomination.—Is it to be supposed that such a tribunal could be free from passion, upon so momentous a question, so immediately touching themselves? that there would be no contrivance? no collusion? no conspiracy to suppress documents? no attempt to pass for genuine, a Bull, which might have been obtained surreptitiously, and signed by a pretended authority of delegation?—Are there no examples of this *Esprit de Corps* in history?

Walshingham relates that Adam d'Orleton, or *Tarleton*, Bishop of Hereford, who, in 1324, was accused of high treason, as having aided the Mortimers, boldly claimed his privilege of being judged only by the Pope, and

was rescued by his fellow Bishops, from the punishment due to his crimes!—A few days after, the King ordered him to be arraigned in his own presence, but the Archbishops of Canterbury, York, and Dublin, with ten other Bishops, holding their Crosses erect, rushed up to the Bar before the King's justices, forbade them to take cognizance of the case, threatening them with excommunication if they dared to proceed, and rescued Tarleton as before.*—Such is the *Esprit de Corps!* and the Canon Laws have provided against it, by establishing *certain* rules of law, which must not be abandoned to the *arbitrium* of those very persons who, it may be, are the most distinctly implicated in the guilt.†

* Walsingham p. 119. Rapin ann. 1323, Hist. of Engl. Lond. fol. 1732, v. 1, p. 397.

† Cod. Theod. l. 2, de fide Test. The French exiled Bishops have, in their *Reclamations Canoniques* against the present Pope, quoted the Canons, which declare that no Clergyman can be deposed of his office (*exauctoratus*) without a *Canonical* judgment, and conviction of guilt. Decret. 2, P. Caus. 2, Quest. 1, ex S. Aug. Caus. 7, Quæst. 1, ex S. Gregorio l. 2, Baronii Annal. ann. 355, No. xlviii.

5. Far be it from me to say that the Irish Bishops would now dare, with Mitres on their heads, and Crosses in their hands, to rush into the four Courts and rescue a prisoner from the bar. The *times* and *circumstances* which were favourable to such proceedings are gone by. But I say distinctly that they have not, and do not contribute to make such times and circumstances pass; but on the contrary cultivate every opportunity, and establish, as far as they can, every maxim and every principle which would contribute to restore such arbitrary times, and lay the Laws prostrate at their feet, unless they are restrained by the salutary interference of legal responsibility. Does not the Vicar B. of Castabala inform us in a Magisterial tone, that the Pope is *Universal Metropolitan*?* that Bishops *exclusively* are to judge and decide on *all matters* relating to the Church; and that no people on earth can make laws of *any kind* for the spiritual kingdom?†

* Letters Dublin, 1811, p. 108.

† Ib. p. 90.

6. Let us suppose that such Bishops should falsely accuse any man or number of men of *heresy*, as the Bishop of Castabala accuses Columbanus, and should interdict them, as Mr. Grady was interdicted at Ballymote, and should order, as the present Pope has *ordered*, that no man shall question the justice of their proceedings, *all the Laws of the Church notwithstanding*, I ask then how is justice to be obtained in a Provincial or National Council?*

7. When the genuine Laws of the Church were observed, and the Catholic Discipline was looked up to with reverence, Provincial Synods were not composed of foreign influenced Bishops, who were appointed by foreign intrigue. They were then elected legally, by the

* S. Cyprian informs Pope Stephen that in excommunicating others, who did not deserve it, he only *excommunicated himself*,—"Excidisti teipsum. Noli te fallere. Siquidem ille
"est vere schismaticus, qui se a communione Ecclesiasticæ
"unitatis Apostatam fecerit. Dum enim putas omnes a te
"abstineri posse, solum *te ab omnibus abstinuisti*." Firmil. Ep. 75, ap. Cypr. p. 228.

Clergy of each Vacant Diocese,* and the Synods were composed of the Second Order of the Clergy as well as of the first.—In those times the Popes absolutely refused to have any thing to do with the elections of Bishops.†

* “ Nullus invitis detur Episcopus. Quod si factum fuerit, ipse Episcopus qui magis per violentiam, quam per *Decretum Legitimum (Electionis)* ordinatur, ab indepto Pontificatus honore, in perpetuum deponatur.” Concil. Aurelian. Can. 11.

“ Si quis Episcopus de quacunque civitate fuerit defunctus, non ab alio nisi a comprovincialibus Clero et civibus suis, alterius habeatur electio. Sin aliter, hujus ordinatio *irrita habeatur*—Concil. Cabillon. 1, Can. 10.

“ Nulla ratio sinit, ut inter Episcopos habeantur, qui nec a Clericis sunt electi, nec a Plebibus expetiti, nec a Provincialibus Episcopis cum Metropolitani judicio consecrati.” Leo magnus Ep. 92 ad Rusticum Narbon. c. 1. Compare Bingham l. 17, c. 5, Lond. fol. 1726, t. 2, p. 194. “ If a Bishop ordained his own Successor, by the Council of Antioch (Canon 23) *his ordination was null.*”

† “ Nunquam nos in qualibet electione invenimus, nec invenire habemus. Sed neque Vestram Excellentiam optamus in talem rem incumbere; sed qualis a Clero et plebe electus *Canonice* fuerit, et nihil sit quod sacro obsit ordini, illum solita traditione ordinamus.” Pope Adrian I’s Ep. to Charlemagne ann. 784, Concil. Gal. t. 2, p. 95, and again p. 120, and Natal. Alex. Sæc. viii, c. 5, p. 698.

In another Letter to Charlemagne of 788, he repeats this doctrine still more strongly “ Nos nullo modo meminimus,

They knew that the sum total of their Primacy consisted in their power to enforce

“ neque a Prædecessoribus nostris SS. Pontificibus, neque a
 “ D. Pippino magno Rege, &c. Missum ad electionem Ra-
 “ vennæ directum esse. Sed dum de hac luce contigisset
 “ migrare Archiepiscopum, *olitana traditione*, clerus et plebs
 “ consistens, sedis Apostolicæ petebant immutilatam doctri-
 “ nam; quatenus una concordia, una eademque voluntate,
 “ unoque consilio conglobati, Apostolicam suscipientes ad-
 “ monitionem, talem sibi eligerent Pastorem, qui nec a sacris
 “ canonibus respueretur, nec ullo extra Capitulo posset ob-
 “ sistere: qui cum jucunditate Decreti, *omnium manuum*
 “ *subscriptione roborati*, ad nostram Apostolicam sedem oc-
 “ currebant, proprium sibi Antistitem consecrandum, sicut et
 “ nunc Canonice factum est, petentes.”—“ Hæc in Ecclesia
 “ Romana vigeat Disciplina; (says Natalis Alex. ib. p. 699)
 “ unde et Stephanus IV, cum Episcopos, a Constantino Anti-
 “ papa consecratos, exactuorasset, cum Synodo decrevit, ut si
 “ *placabiles* fuissent coram populo civitatis suæ, *denuo facto*
 “ *Decreto electionis, more solito*, cum clero et plebe ad Apos-
 “ tolicam advenissent sedem, et benedictionis susciperent con-
 “ secrationem.”—

The Castabala objects to my translation of *Plebs, Representatives of the people*. But, as usual, he only betrays his own ignorance.—Let him read before he writes, and he will find it so rendered in coæval writers. See the Novella 123 of Justinian. Natalis Alexander, whose learning no superficial scribler ever can attain, observes on this very Novella, that when Bishops were elected by the people, the rabble were not always allowed even to be present, but only the *more respectable citizens*. “ In illis ipsis Ecclesiis in quibus

the execution of the Canons throughout the Universal Church;* they were bound *by oath* to preserve the Canons of General Councils inviolate. The oath may be seen in the *Liber Diurnus Romanorum Pontificum*, published from a venerable MS. of the 8th Century by Garnerius; and Natalis Alexander, with the most learned and orthodox Catholic Divines, and with the unanimous decision of the Sorbonne at his back, infers, most justly and decidedly, that the Pope is not invested with any

“populus, suffragium suum ad Episcoporum electiones conferebat, consultius aliquando visum est, ut ab iis vilis plebecula arceretur, ad easque cives duntaxat honorati admitterentur.” T. 1, p. 127, Prop. 2. Sæc. 1. Dissert. 8. The 13th Canon of Laodicea says “Turbis non esse permit- tendum electiones eorum qui sunt in Sacerdotio constituendi facere.”

* See this proposition proved from their own Epistles by Natalis Alexander, Sæc. 1. Dessert. 4. t. 3, Paris 1699, p. 115. Pope Gregory the great is decisive “Cunctas vero quas illa Veneranda Concilia personas respuunt, respuo, quos venerantur, amplector, quia dum universali sunt consensu constituta, se, non illa destruit, quisquis præsumit aut solvere quos ligant, aut ligare quos solvunt.” S. Greg. l. 1. Ep. 24, ad Johan. C. P.

power of altering or abrogating those universal laws, but on the contrary, is as much bound to their observance as any other Bishop.* Ivo

* “ Hinc recte colligitur Romanum Pontificem Canones
“ spiritu Dei conditos, et totius mundi Reverentia consecratos
“ pro libito abrogare non posse,” &c. Ib. p. 118.

Genuine account of the Canonical mode of electing a Pope
from the *Liber Diurnus* De ordinatione S. Pontificis.

“ I. Ubi primum S. Pontifex excesserat vita, Nuntius ad
“ Exarcham mittebatur ab iis qui Sedis Apostolicæ vicem
“ servabant. II. Post justa defuncto persoluta, indictumque
“ tridui jejunium, eligebatur Pontifex, convenientibus *Cleri*,
“ *Optimum*, et *Populi* votis, Decretumque condebatur, quod
“ ab eligentibus subscriberetur. III. De electione mox refere-
“ batur ad Principem, postulabaturque electionis approbatio.
“ IV. Referabatur etiam ad Exarcham Ravennæ, cum pre-
“ cibus, ut electionem vel nomine Principis confirmaret, vel
“ confirmandam, curaret. V. Scribebatur pariter ad Judices,
“ Archiepiscopum et Apocrisarium Ravennæ, et ut certum
“ videtur, ad Patricium Antistitem, et Apocrisarium Constan-
“ nopolis, a paribus. VI. *Accepta Confirmatione*, Electus
“ solemniter deducebatur ad Confessionem S. Petri. VII.
“ Illic, *nondum ordinatus*, ad Corpus Apostolorum Principis
“ profitebatur fidem, *Sancta quoque Universalia Concilia*, usque
“ ad unum apicem immutilata sequare.” *Liber Diurnus* Paris
1680. p. 157. Compare Baluz’s Preface to the Capitularies
p. 19, 20. and his notes to Agobard, where he proves that
the Pope could not be canonically consecrated, until the

Carnotensis argues in the same manner, from the same oath, and concludes that the Pope cannot, in any case, act against the laws of the Universal Church. (Ivo Ep. 60, to John of Loyns.)—In these times the Popes were invariably elected from amongst the second and third orders, never from amongst the first. No Bishop ever was appointed Pope before the 11th century; that the first was Pope Formosus, A. D. 891, is evident from Panvini's annotations to Platina, p. 112, where he quotes for it the *Liber Diurnus*, describing it as the "*vettissimus, et sine auctoris nomine scriptus liber Bibliothecæ Vaticanæ.*"*—That no Bishop could be elected Pope, is clear from the Emperor Basil's epistle to Pope Adrian III, in which he

imperial edict concerning the election was received, and that this discipline was rigorously adhered to, down to the Pontificate of Gregory the VIIth's successor, at the end of the 11th century---Was Baluz a heretick?

* Garnerii *Liber Diurnus*, Paris 4to, 1680, p. 157. "Non ex Episcopis summi Pontifices fiebant; id enim *tentatum primo* in Formoso, sed ex Diaconis ut plurimum et Presbyteris Ecclesiæ Romanæ,"—and again in the Index, word Papa "Nullus Papa ex Episcopo electus ante Formosum."

asserts that *Marinus* could not be elected to the Popedom *because he was a Bishop*; the Emperor's argument is admitted by Pope Stephen V in his reply, in which, confining himself entirely to the fact, that *Marinus was not a Bishop*, he infers that *since he was not*, he might be legitimately appointed to the Holy See.* Even Sandini admits that *Formosus* was the first Bishop who was appointed Pope; and though he endeavours, as usual, to throw a shade over every flaw in a Papal election, he cannot help admitting, that the election of *Formosus* was controverted, and attended with a deep and dubious intrigue.†

* See this Epistle in Baronius's Annals an. 885, § 9, and in Labbe's Councils t. 8, p. 1391, and t. 9, p. 366.

† He was condemned in a Synod held in Rome, A. D. 876, and exiled into Gaul, under an oath that he would never return to Rome. He was then Bishop of Porto. Baronius says, that he knows not why he was condemned, an. 876, § 22, and again 883, § 1. But Mabillon reveals the secret. Sæc. 5, Bened. § 1, num. 6, from Pope John VIIIth's Epistle 319, in Labbe's Councils t. 9. p. 233. *Because in defiance of the Canons, he endeavoured by intrigue to become Pope from being Bishop of Porto,* "quod, contra præscripta Canonum,

Pope Nicholas II, was the first who enacted that the elections of Popes should be made *chiefly* by Cardinal Bishops, but it is evident from the words of his decree, that the Roman Clergy were not even then excluded from their right of voting;* that right was not confined to the Cardinals exclusively, before the year 1179, after the Anglo-Norman Invasion of Ireland,† and then, under the name *Cardinals*, the second and third order of the Roman Clergy were expressly included;‡ nor

“per ambitum, ab Ecclesia Portuensi ad Romanam prosilire conatus est.” Compare Mabillon’s *Analecta* tom. 4, pag. 610, where Formosus’s cause is given at full length, from an ancient MS.—His remains were dug up by Pope Stephen VIII, and as a perjurer and intruder, they were thrown into the Tiber.

* “In primis Cardinales Episcopi diligentissime simul de electione tractantes, mox ipsi *Clericos* Cardinales *adhibeant*, sicque reliquus Clerus et populus ad *consensum* novæ electionis accedat; nimirum præcavantes, ne venalitatis morbus aliqua occasione subrepat.” Decret de elect. R. P. Baron. An. 1059, § 25, and Labbe Concil. t. 9, p. 1013. Harduin t. 6, part 1, p. 1065.

† Panvini’s notes to Platina, p. 157. Sandini’s Life of Alexander III, p. 483.

‡ See Columbanus No. iv, p. 72, and No. iii, p. 22.

was the government of the Catholic Church ever yet, at any period of time, declared to be an *ab-so-lute monarchy*, except by the foreign influenced Vicars of England and Ireland, who have, in this, gone farther than the very vilest sycophant *Court* theologians of Rome.*

8. Influenced by the maxims to which I refer, the National and Provincial Synods in Ireland, are no longer what they were by original institution.—Let us only consider this point with reference to an accused Bishop.—I do not now question whether Dr. Bellew, the oldest Bishop in Connacht, was or was not deprived, by any intrigue, of his just right, as oldest Bishop, to preside in the province after the death of its late Metropolitan—neither shall I inquire where the intrigues for the Diocese of Tuam origi-

* Collet undertakes to prove that “*Regimen Ecclesiæ pure Monarchicum non est, sed Aristocratia temperatum. Atque usus Apostolicæ Potestatis per Sacros Canones temperari debet.*” *Theolog. Dogmatica et Moralis*, Paris 1782, t. 7, Artic. 6, p. 561. This was taught even at Rome! Let those who are endeavouring to reestablish the *Rinuccini* maxims answer for it to God and to their Country!

nated, or whether the late Bishop Dillon was tampered with, in his last illness, to nominate his favourite for his successor.—But—I will suppose that any Bishop gave offence to his Church, by any misconduct,—a supposition which the V. B. of Castabala will, *no doubt*, declare *ex tripode* inadmissible, but which we who have witnessed the events of the last six years, may be allowed to appeal for, to his own life.

In short, since Bishops are not infallible, let us suppose such a fact.—Whither should we resort in such a case for redress?

Let us suppose that the accused Bishop has framed and proposed a new *Test Act* to his Clergy,—I ask, where are his Clergy to demand justice?—His own Presbyters cannot judge him, because they are his inferiors; another single Bishop cannot do it because he is only his equal.—We must therefore recur to an assembly of equals, who have a natural right over their own body; but every one knows that if that assembly of equals is implicated in the same guilt, there can be no justice obtained.—Now this is precisely the case at present.

9. Four Vicars Apostolic English, assembled in Synod, have framed a *new Test*, which implies personal infallibility on the part of the Pope; and they have imposed this yoke on the necks of the Clergy, as already stated;* declaring that they will not admit any to exercise the functions of his ministry, unless he subscribe three propositions, which no man can subscribe, unless he admit, as a foundation for his belief, the personal infallibility of Pope Pius VII.—Now I, for one, do not believe in any such prerogative; and the Irish Bishops have *sworn* that it is no part of their faith.

10. To obviate all these difficulties, which might stand in the way of justice, in National and Provincial Synods, the Apostolic, and other subsequent Canons of *General Councils* have enacted *certain* rules, by which uncertain and fluctuating opinions are to be overruled; and the whim, and the passion, the anger and the spleen of a domineering and despotical temper is to be governed by the salutary curb, the *bit*, and the *bridle* of legal restraint.

* See above, p. 37.

§ III. *Canonical Restraints on the abuse of Episcopal power. Bishops to be freely elected —Priests to vote judicially in Synods—Not to be deprived without a trial.*

1. In my former numbers I have adduced many Canons of the most venerable Councils, forbidding Bishops to name their own successors. The foreign Vicars however alledge precedents of a contrary practice, from the conduct of S. Augustin, and S. Francis of Sales.—Alas!—Imitate the Saints!—Ay truly—but not in what they themselves acknowledge to have done amiss!—S. Augustin confessed his fault in having done that which was forbidden by the Council of Nice.* “ *Qui secutus es errantem, sequere pœnitentem.*”

If some few exceptions to general rules, are to be alledged as reasons for violating the laws of General Councils, there is an end of all law. If a Bishop is unfit to preside, let him resign on a pension, and let there be a new election.—

* See Columbanus, No. I, p. 42, No. IV, p. 31, &c.

“ Qui est plus obligé à observer les Canons que
 “ l’ Eveque? says the learned Duguet, qui les
 “ observerà s’ il ne les observe pas? ”* •

If precedents are to be laws, there are precedents for Simony, for *unjust* Censures, and for Waterford and Jamestown excommunications!

S. Augustin of Canterbury named his own Successor.—Ay, but Bede alledges a strong case as his *Apology*, “ lest upon his death, the state of
 “ the Church, as yet *so unsettled*, should begin
 “ to falter.”†—Bede therefore knew that he had violated the Laws of the Church.

The state of the infant Church of England, attacked on all sides by Pagans, was so unsettled that it must have failed.—Is that the state of the Church of Ireland? Will any one of the Bishops who have, by *private correspondence* with Cardinal Antonelli or Gerdil, named their own Successors, pretend that their Churches would have failed if they had not done so?

* Traité des devoirs d’ un Eveque.

† This translation cannot be objected to. It is Stephens’s London 1723, book 2. c. 4, p. 124.

Could they not have resigned on a pension if they were superannuated, or invalides, and called their Clergy to a Canonical election?

When Charlemagne requested of the Patriarch of Aquileia, then on his death bed, to name his successor.—“*No*,” said he, *I will not add that to my sins.*”*—When S. Boniface, Apostle of Germany, asked Pope Zachary’s leave to name his own Successor “*ut sibi liceret eligere et consecrare successorem.*”—The Pope replied that he could not consent, because it would be a violation of the Canons. “*Quia Ecclesiasticæ Regulæ et institutis Patrum repugnaret.*”†—S. Augustin quotes a Canon of the first Nicene which forbids two Bishops in one Diocese.‡—The same Canon is quoted by Pope Innocent I. by Baronius,§ and by Labbe. Councils, t. 2, p. 74.

* Monachus S. Gallensis in Vita Caroli. M. l. 2, c. 27.

† Concil. Gall. t. 2, p. 530, and again p. 574.

‡ Ep. 110, and again Ep. 118.

§ Annal. an. 395, n. 31, 32. See it also in Sozomen, l. 8, c. 26. “Non nisi *electione*, Episcopos suffectos in *mortuorum* locum certissimum est, idque in sequenti capite *mon-*

2. Petavius proves from a collation of the Fathers of every age, as well as from the Canons of General, and of Provincial, Councils *universally received*, that Bishops must be elected by the Clergy of each Vacant See, *coram facie Ecclesie*, with unfolded doors, in the presence of all who choose to attend. He adds, that the decrees for the maintenance of this discipline are innumerable, “Innumera
 “sunt hujusmodi decreta de eligendis Episco-
 “pis, *suffragante et subscribente Clero, consen-
 “tiente populo*,”* and S. Cyprian maintains *professedly* that this Discipline is of Apostoli-
 cal institution.”†

“strabitur,” says one of the most learned men the Christian world ever produced, Petavius De Eccl. Hier. l. 1, c. 12, Paris 1644, t. 3, p. 719.—“Negamus, continues he, vel duos
 “istos Romanos Pontifices *Soterem et Elutherium*, vel *alios*
 “quoscunque tam Romæ, quam *in aliis Ecclesiis* Episcopos alio
 “modo quam *electione* creatos esse.” ib. and again c. 13, p. 721. *Are the Irish Bishops more learned than Petavius?*

Let *Canonical elections* be restored, and the second order be reinstated in their Synodical rights, and then we may talk of *Synods*.—Otherwise, Synods may be *Gunpowder Plots*.

* Ibid. p. 722.

† His 68th Letter is professedly on this subject, “hunc

3. I know it has been *asserted*, and what is it that may not be *asserted*, that the 4th and 6th Canons of Nice, the 12th of Laodicea, and the 19th of Antioch ordain that Bishops shall be elected by the *Provincial Bishops*, making no mention of the Clergy of the Vacant See.

But let these Canons be closely examined, let them be compared with the discipline of the Eastern and Western Churches, at the time, and after the time they were enacted, and it will be found most clearly, most decidedly, that those Councils never meant that the *ancient form of election* by the Clergy of the Vacant See, should be disturbed; they advert only to the *interference* of the Provincial Bishops, who used to attend at the elections; stating how far it was allowed to them to *intermeddle*, particularly in the election of a Metropolitan, at which the Senior Bishop of the Province had an undoubted right to preside. They are silent as to

“*morem antiquissimum* fuisse testatur Cyprianus, ac de traditione Divina et Apostolica.” Ibid. Was Petavius a heretick? Was S. Cyprian?

the suffrages of the Second Order of the Clergy, because that was so well known, and so universally established, that it required no Law. There are hundreds of examples not only of Clerical but even of popular elections of Bishops in the Eastern Churches subsequent to those Canons, such as the election of Synesius to the See of Ptolemais,* and several others which may be seen in Petavius, and in Menard's edition of the *Sacramentarium* of Pope Gregory the great, p. 303.

4. I have minutely examined Gibbon, and collated his account of Ecclesiastical elections, with the original authors and fathers of the ages to which he refers, and I boldly assert, and *I bid defiance to inquiry*, that his account, as far

* Synesius was one of the descendants of Hercules. The long series of his ancestors, says Gibbon, as high as Eurys-thenes, the first Doric King of Sparta, and the fifth in lineal descent from Hercules, was inscribed in the public Registers of Cyrene, a Lacedemonian Colony. (Synes. Epist l. vii, p. 197, edit. Petav.) Such a pure and illustrious pedigree of seventeen hundred years, without adding the Royal Ancestors of Hercules, cannot be equalled in the History of Mankind.

as it is given in the following passage, is perfectly correct.

“The freedom of Episcopal elections subsisted long after the legal establishment of Christianity.* The subjects of Rome enjoyed in the Church the privilege which they had lost in the Republic, of choosing the Magistrates whom they were bound to obey. *As soon as a Bishop had closed his eyes, the Metropolitan issued a commission to one of his Suffragans to administer the Vacant See, and prepare, within a limited time, the future election. The rite of voting was vested in the inferior Clergy, who were best qualified to judge of the merit of the candidates. It was every where admitted, as a fundamental maxim of Religious policy, that no Bishop could be*

* *Thomassin*, Discipline de l' Eglise t. 2, l. 2, c. 1—8, p. 673—721, has copiously treated of the election of Bishops, during the five first Centuries, both in the East and in the West. But he shews a very *partial bias* in favour of the episcopal Aristocracy, *Bingham* l. 4, c. 2. is very moderate; and *Chardon Hist. des Sacremens* t v, p. 108—128 is very clear and concise.

imposed on an orthodox church, without the consent of its members. The Emperors, as the guardians of the public peace, might *effectually* declare their wishes in the choice of a Primate, but those absolute Monarchs respected the freedom of ecclesiastical elections, and while they distributed and resumed the honors of the state and army, they allowed 1800 perpetual Magistrates to receive their important offices from the free suffrages of the people."

5. The right of electing their Bishops gave a considerable degree of importance to the Clerical Order, as long as it was fairly maintained. The Laity held them in greater estimation; the Nobility and Gentry derived no small advantage from the influence they possessed over several of the Clergy who voted at the election; the interests of all were amalgamated in the choice; and the publicity and religious solemnity of the whole proceeding precluded the possibility of an intrigue.

6. But the grand Palladium of Religious Liberty, the grand restraint upon the intrigues and passions of Exclusive Synods of Bishops

consisted in the right of suffrage, which the Second Order always enjoyed in all matters relating to faith and Discipline in Synods.

I have already shewn from the *Acts* xv, 4, &c. that the Second Order, as well as the first, attended and voted in the Apostolical Council of Jerusalem;* and that in every one of the four Councils mentioned in the Acts they formed a constituent part of the Assembly.

Let us examine this matter with the calmness and diligence it deserves.

7. When S. Paul came to Jerusalem to consult that Church on the continuation of the Mosaic rights, do we find that the Bishop, S. James, *alone* came to meet him on that subject?

On the contrary, are we not told, that an interval of one day elapsed after his arrival, that *next day* S. James collected the Presbyters, “that all the *Elders* were present,† and “*they* informed him that thousands of Jews, “who were converted, were all zealous of the

* Columbanus No. iv. p. 46, &c.

† Acts xxi, 18.

“ Law of Moses—do therefore this that *we* “ say to thee,” v. 23.—*They* then, by an unanimous decision, declared that the Mosaic rites were yet to be continued; and S. Paul submitted to *their* decree, v. 26.

Again, when a collection was made at Antioch for the brethren in Judea, it was not forwarded to the Bishop *alone*, to be disposed of merely as he pleased, but to the College of Presbyters,* of whom he was the head, to be distributed by *common consent*; for they had a joint care with him, though subordinate, and they had a power from the H. Ghost, as he had, “ *to govern the flock, over which the H. Ghost* “ *had made them Overseers,*” as S. Paul expressly declares in that text, which the Vicars Apostolic have *corrupted*, in order to prove the reverse!†—Even in ordinations they were to join with him in *laying on hands*;‡ and “ there-

* Acts xi, 30.

† Acts xx, 28—I beg leave to refer to Columbanus, No. iv, p. 20, &c. See above, p. 2, &c.

‡ Neglect not the gift that is in thee, which was given thee

“fore,” says S. Jerom, “let the Bishops re-
 “member to govern the Church in common
 “with the Presbyters,” and therefore also, says
 the great S. Ignatius Martyr, in his epistle to
 the Thrallians, “what is the Presbytery but an
 “holy Assembly, in which the Presbyters are
 “Councillors and *Assessors* to the Bishop?”
 not simply Councillors, *συμβεβαι*, but also *As-*
sessors, *συνεδρευται*.—He repeats the same doc-
 trine in the same letter “Reverence the Dea-
 “cons as the order of Christ, and the *Presby-*
ters as the *Synod of God*, and the constitution
 “of the Apostles; for *without these there can*
be no Church,” and he concludes with these
 words “Farewell in J. C. being subject to the
 “Bishop as to the commandment of God,
 “likewise to the *College of Presbyters*.”*

“by Prophecy, with the laying on of *the hands of the Pres-*
bytery.” 1 Tim. iv, 14, and again 2 Tim. i, 6.

* Αλλ' ὑποτάσσεσθε καὶ τῷ Πρεσβυτερίῳ, ὡς Ἀποστολῇς Ἰησοῦ
 χριστοῦ. Usher's edition, Oxon. 1644, p. 65.

. Again ὡς καὶ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος τῷ πατρὶ τῶν ὁλῶν τυπῶς, οἱ δὲ
 Πρεσβύτεροι ὡς συνέδριον θεοῦ. Ib. p. 66.

What shall we say now of those Vicars Apostolic who have ventured to declare in print, that *neither in Synod, nor out of Synod*, have Priests any right to judge of faith or Discipline? Are they better informed on this subject than the great Martyr S. Ignatius, who was himself a Bishop, and had conversed with the Apostles?

8. There is nothing more agreeable to human egotism, than the lust of command. Julius Cesar would rather be the first man in a Swiss Canton, than the second in imperial Rome. The rude, the boisterous, and domineering independence of the ancient Irish Chiefs, was founded on the same horrible passion, which has inflicted so many calamities on the human race. They had rather reign the lawless despots of a bog, with a power of life and death over their wretched Clans, than adopt the

Again Τι δε Πρεσβυτεριον αλλ η συσημα ιερών, συμβελοι χι νεδρεωται τς Επισχοπς. Ib. p. 71

Again Ερρωσθε εν χυριω Ικσς χρισω υπωτασσομενοι τς Επισχοπω, ομοιως χι τοις πρεσβυτεροις, p. 80.

manners and comforts of civilized life; and they submitted to a thousand domestic inconveniences, rather than run the risk of *legal restraint*!—Woe to those Irish Bishops, who pursue in the 19th century, that system of lawless government, which our Chiefs *were compelled* to abandon in the 17th!—Gracious God!—Do they imagine, at a time when the very last embers of Feudalism have expired, that they will be able to exercise lawless dominion, in defiance of the most venerable laws of the Christian Church?

Command without responsibility to law, is perhaps reconcileable with the principles of the Koran; but the best Bishops that the Christian Religion has produced, have declared that such uncontrollable dominion, and such *unprincipled* command, are repugnant to the Christian System. They considered the second order as *fellow overseers* of the Church. S. Cyprian writes to Pope Cornelius, (Ep. 55.) “ that “ he had a flourishing Clergy *presiding with* “ *him at Rome.*”—The Roman Clergy were always considered the *Ex Cathedra Assessors*,

without whose consent, the Pope himself could not pronounce any solemn decision of the Roman See. On the death of Pope Fabian, they governed that See, styling themselves *Præpositi*, or Prelates; and Baronius acknowledges that they did so in virtue of a title founded on Apostolical tradition.*

Why does S. Cyprian apologize to them for his flight from the persecution of Decian?† Why does he consult them how he shall conduct himself with respect to readmitting to commu-

* “Fabiano Papa Martyrio coronato, ne per annum quidem valuit ei subrogari successor, nempe, ut ait Clerus Romanus ad Cyprianum, (Ep. 31) propter rerum et temporum difficultates, quibus qui residui ex eodem Clero erant, *probe scientes, ex antiquiori consuetudine*, sublato visibili Universalis Ecclesiæ Capite, *suarum esse partium* Catholicæ Ecclesiæ prospicere, in iis quæ licerent, *ipsius Capitis munera explentes*, inter alia cæteras Ecclesias hortati sunt, diligentem curam habere, &c. Ex literis quas de his rebus ad Cyprianum et Clerum Carthaginiensem scripsere, (apud Cypr. Ep. 3, 4, 15, 30, 31) quid cum cæteris principalioribus Ecclesiis egerint, facile possumus intelligere.” Baron. Annal. ann. 253, No. vii, viii, t. 1, p. 262--3, Paris, fol. 1630.

† Cypr. Ep. 9, and Baronius ib. No. ix. “Ad Romanum clerum *rationem sui facti reddens*, ad quem in sui *excusationem* tredecim transmisit epistolas.”

nion, those who had apostatized?*.—I have elsewhere given the great Mabillon's opinion, on the right of the second order, to vote *definitively*, on matters of faith and discipline in Synods.†—If all the Buonapartes in the world, had collected all the sycophant Bishops of France and Italy, to hold an obsequious Synod under their influence, they, all together, could never get over the irresistible evidence of these texts and authorities united.

* “Cypriano visum Apostolicam Sedem, tametsi Pastore
“vacantem, in re tanti momenti *consulere*.” Epist. 23, et 29
“Iis autem acceptis, Clerus Romanus, matura consulatione
“habita, &c. Cypriani sententia gestisque *confirmatis*, de
“cætero nihil ante creationem Episcopi Romani innovandum
“*decreverunt*. (Apud Cypr. Ep. 30, 31,) eademque Romani
“Cleri *decreta* per totum mundum missa esse, et in notitiam
“Ecclesiis omnibus perlata Cyprianus asserit.” Ep. 42 ad
Anton. Baronius, ib. No. xiii. p. 264.

† The fourth Council of Toledo assigns their proper place in Synods to the second order as well as to the first, on *benches behind the Bishops*.—The oldest edition excepts such Priests as the Metropolitan may wish to have near himself, who are to judge and to define as his counsel.---“Quos secum *sessuros*
“Metropolitanus elegerit, qui utique et *cum eo judicare et*
“*definire* possent.” Mabillon says on this passage---“*Observandus est hic locus de Suffragio Presbyterorum in Synodo*
“*etiam Provinciali*.” Musæum Ital. t. 2, n. 3.

The author of the *Traité des Conciles*, and the others referred to here, confirm the doctrine of Mabillon.* And really is it to be expected that an ancient Irishman will surrender the faith and discipline of his ancestors, to a sycophant intrigue.

§ LV. *That the second order always gave their Suffrages in Irish Synods.—Extracts from the Irish annals.*

1. There is yet extant in an ancient Cotton Manuscript, an epistle from the Presbytery of the Roman See, (*Sede Vacante*) to the Irish Clergy, the title as well as the whole tenour of which, as published most accurately in Usher's Sylloge, proves that the second order of the

* “Les Clercs avoient une sorte d’inspection sur l’Eveque
 “meme, etant temoins continuels de sa doctrine, et de ses
 “mœurs. S’il eut entrepris d’en seigner, ou de faire quelque
 “chose contraire aux traditions Apostoliques, les anciens
 “Prêtres, et les anciens Diacres ne l’eussent pas souffert. Ils
 “accordoient tous les differends, ils avoient la Souveraine dis-
 “position de tous les tresors de l’Eglise.” *Traité de l’étude
 des Conciles* Paris 1724, p. 52. *Constitut. Apostol.* l. 2, c. 28,
 45, 46, l. 3, c. 20; l. 6, c. 29, l. 8, c. 4, 27, 28, c. 12, 41, 42.

Clergy of Rome, wrote a Doctrinal Epistle on the Pascal Controversy, A. D. 639 ; calling upon the Irish to retract their error on that subject ; expressly including the 2d order of the Irish Clergy, in the very *Inscription* of their epistle ; and addressing it to *them*, separately and collectively, as well as to the first.*-- They well understood that no doctrine of any *See* could be known but by consulting it, and that the Bishop *alone* is not the *See*.

2. In fact, the Apostolical Canons declare expressly that the Priests are the Bishop's *Counsel*,

* Epistola ix in Sylloge, p. 22. " Romani Cleri ad Clerum
 " Hibernicum.---Doctissimis et Sanctissimis Tomiano, Colum-
 " bano, Cronano, Dimano, et Bathiano *Episcopis*.---Cronano,
 " Ermianoque, Laisreano, Scellano, et Segieno *Presbyteris*,
 " Sarano cæterisque *Doctoribus* seu *Abbatibus* Scotis---Hilarus
 " Archipresbyter et servans locum S. Sedis Apostolicæ.---Jo-
 " hannes Diaconus et in Dei nomine electus---item Johannes
 " Primicerius, et servans locum S. Sedis Apostolicæ, et Johan-
 " nes servus Dei Consiliarius ejusdem Sedis Apostolicæ, &c."

The very *title* of this letter sufficiently evinces that the second order of the Roman Clergy had a share in the government of the Holy See, and were, as S. Cyprian expressly says, in his epistle to Lucius,—“ *Cum Episcopo Presbyteri Sacerdotes*,
 “ *honore conjuncti*.” Ep. 58. Compare Bed. l. 2, c. 19.

*the Senate, and Sessions of the Church.**—Have we not to this day, innumerable instances of *judicial* subscriptions and sentences, which have been enacted by the 2d order as well as by the first?—Do we not find them in the two *general* councils of Nice, the two *general* of Constantinople, in the general council of Ephesus, in that of Chalcedon, and in the first of Arles?†—Was not *Marcion* rejected and condemned by the Presbyterium of Rome, A. D. 143?‡ Was not

* Lib. 2, c. 32, with Beveridge's Notes on his Pandectæ, and his Codex Canonum vindicatus, Lond. 1678, where he clearly proves that the Apostolical Constitutions, though spurious, give the discipline of the 3d and 4th Centuries.

† Traité de l' étude des Conciles, p. 566, and again p. 8. "Les Apostres et les Pretres l' assemblerent a Jerusalem pour examiner et decider cette question, (Acts xv,)—Après avoir delibéré ensemblé, ils conclurent qu' il ne falloit point imposer cette charge aux chretiens, &c. C' est la le premier concile, et le modele de tous les autres." Ib. p. 7--8.

‡ Euseb. l. 5, c. 13. Dupin De Antiq. Dis. p. 142, &c.

So also was *Novatus* condemned by a Synod of the second order of the Roman Clergy, as stated by Eusebius, l. 6, c. 43, *Paulus Samosatenus* by the Priests of Antioch, ib. l. 7, c. 30. The Priests sat and subscribed in the several councils held in Rome, by Popes Hilarus and Gregory the Great, as stated in S. Greg. Epist. l. 4, c. 88; In the first under Simmachus,

Noetus cast out, as a broacher of new doctrines, by the counsel of the senior Presbyters of Ephesus, as related by Epiphanius?—"They
 " *cited* him, says he, to give an account of his
 " faith, and they condemned both him and his
 " followers." A. D. 245. *—Does not Pope Siricius inform the Church of Milan in 385, that, "when *Jovinian* and his followers were
 " detected by a judicial sentence of the Priests
 " of Rome—*Sacerdotali judicio detecti*—he held
 " a *Presbytery* to examine their cause, (*facto*
 " *igitur Presbyterio*) and that there a sentence
 " passed against them by *common consent*?"

This was the *ex Cathedra* decision of the

57 Priests subscribed with 72 Bishops; as in the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth, under the same Pope. Pope Felix held a council of 43 Bishops and 74 Priests.—The council of Tarracon, 1200 years ago, enacts thus—"Let Letters be sent
 " by the Metropolitan to his brethren, that they bring
 " with them unto the Synod, not only some of the Presbyters
 " of the Cathedral Church; but also of each Diocese."

At the great Council of Lateran, under Innocent III, there were 492 Bishops, and of the second order above 800! *Platina* in *Innoc. 3*. Dupin says, "Etiam in Conciliis Provinci-
 " arum sedisse legimus Presbyteros et cum *Episcopis judicasse*." De Antiq. Eccles. Discip. p. 249—250, Paris 4to 1686.

* Epiph. Hæres 57, p. 479.

Roman See, the only species of decision by which we can know the doctrine of any church; and *really* could the Roman Clergy who *wrote to the Irish in 639*, be ignorant of this?—Most certainly not.—They well knew that in the most ancient councils, the second order attended, even in greater numbers than the first; in the council of Eliberis, which preceded that of Nice, A. D. 306, and was held to reform the discipline of the church, the Bishops were only 19, the Presbyters 26.*

Eusebius says that so many of the second order attended in the great council of Nice, that it would be tedious to mention them individually.† Tillemont computes them 2048, ‡ and Beausobre agrees.||—*Five hundred and twenty* attended at the great council of Chalcedon, where the Bishops were only 356.§

* Concil. Hisp. Cardinalis D' Aguir. t. 1, p. 241, 292.

† See *Columbanus*, No. iii, p. 22.

‡ Tillemont, t. vi, p. 915, Dupin *ibid*.

|| Beausobre's *Hist. du Manich.* t. 1, p. 529.

§ "Labbe, p. 833. Sandini's *Life of Leo the Great*, not. 5, p. 147."

We cannot positively declare, says the learned Baluzius, that Presbyters sat *in all* the councils of the four first centuries, because the accounts that remain are imperfect; but in such as we have any more than a general account of, we find certainly that Presbyters sat in them, as well as Bishops, and therefore we may reasonably infer that they sat in all, as in the Alexandrian Synod which condemned Origen, in 230, &c. &c. *—S. Cyprian says that the Synods of Africa were “ Councils of Bishops
“ Priests, Deacons, and Confessors, the people
“ standing by;” † that Priests attended in the councils held by himself;‡ and that they did not barely attend *pro forma*, or by *connivance*, but that they *judged* and *determined* with the Bishops on matters of faith and disci-

* Baluz. Nova. Collect. Concilior. t. 1, p. 15.

† Cypr. Ep. 31, “ Collatione consiliorum cum Episcopis
“ Presbyteris, Diaconis, Confessoribus pariter, ac stantibus
“ Laicis facta.”

‡ “ Ego et Collegæ mei qui præsentés aderant, et compres-
“ byteri nostri, qui nobis assudebant.” Ep. 66. Were these
Synods *exclusively* Episcopal?

pline, as on the Baptismal controversy.*—*Could the Roman Clergy be ignorant of this?*

3. With regard to Irish Synods, nothing can be more clear from the whole current of our history, than that they were composed *chiefly* of the second order. Our excellent Archdeacon Lynch argues how unjust Giraldus is in descanting on the illiteracy of the Irish, “for
“how could that people be illiterate,” says he,
“who, at the very period he mentions, had so
“many Ecclesiasticks, that we find 500 Priests
“assembled with 12 Bishops, and Muredach
“O’Duffy, Archbishop of Tuam, at their head,
“in 1143?”†—The same fact is mentioned by the Continuator of Tigernach.

In fact, the Irish Synods, as well as the British were chiefly composed of Monks; and we know

* “De qua re, quid nuper in concilio plurimi Coepiscopi,
“*cum Compresbyteris* qui aderant, *censuimus* ut scires, &c.”
Ep. 71. Compare Dupin De Antiq. Discip. p. 249.

† Quanta vero Sacerdotum copia Hiberniæ suppetierit, vel hinc conjectura quis assequi potest, quod A. D. 1143, quingenti Presbyteri in cœtum coierint, præter duodecem Episcopos et Muredachum O’Dubhtaih Tuamensem Antistitem. *Cambr. Eveng.* p. 165.

that the Bishops of Hyona were *subject to the jurisdiction* of the Abbots of that Monastery, *who were Priests*. Bed. l. 3. c. 4.

All the Clergy of Southern Ireland attended in a Synod convened by S. Cumian, on the Paschal controversy, in the field of *Lena*, in 629, in order that they might decide that question by common consent, “ *ut communi consilio decernerent.*” Vita Cumeani, in Actis, p. 409.

Cumian himself stays in his epistle to Segien, that the principal persons who attended, were the Abbots of *Cluanmacnois*, *Birr*, *Inis Domhliag*, *Cluanfert*, &c.—Those who attended in the subsequent Synod of *Leth-glinn*, or of the *White-field*, near Mount *Marge*, A. D. 631, were also of the second order, and chiefly Monks, as noticed in the ancient life of *S. Munnu*, published by Fleming.

In a Synod held by the Primate Flann, A. D. 695, at which *Adamnan* attended, there were 40 Bishops and Abbots, as Colgan, who had an ancient copy of the Acts of that Synod, declares in his life of Mosacer, p. 454.

In a Synod convened by the Primate Celsus,

in 1111, 50 Bishops and 318 of the second order attended, as noticed from the book of *Cluan Ednach*, by Keating, l. 2, by Colgan in his Acts, p. 644, and by Ware.*—This Synod is thus mentioned in the Ulster Annals.

An. M. c. xi. *Senod do tinol in Fiadh m. Qengusa la Maithibh Er. im Ceall. Com. Pat. 7 im Maelmure h. h n Dunain in usal Senoir Er. co L. ait n Epscop l. paulo plus, co tribh c. aib Sacart, 7 co tri milib m. n. Eclaso, im Muircertach i. im h. Briuin co Maithibh L7 he Mogha, in erail riaghla 7 sobhesa for cach Er, Tuath 7 Eclais.*†—i. e. “a Synod assembled at *Fiadh mc*

* Celeberrima Synodus in loco dicto Ængusii terra coacta, anno 1111, vel 1112, cui interfuisse dicuntur Episcopi 50, præter Presbyteros 318, l. 1, c. 8.—The same Synod is mentioned also by Henry of Marleburgh, under the year 1112, where he calls it “Concilium *Magnum Episcoporum, et omnium Magnatum Hiberniæ, a Mauricio Lochlin Rege Hiberniæ convocatum.*” Ware reprehends Henry for saying that it was convened by Maurice Lochlin King of Ireland, for, says he, there was *no such King*. Marleburgh is however perfectly correct, for by Maurice Lochlin he means *Murcertach mac Lochlin O’Nial*, who was really King of Ireland that very year.

† My printed edition of the Annals of Ulster, p. 374. The

Aengus, by the chiefs of Ireland, with Celsus the successor of S. Patrick, and with Malmura O'Dunan, the noble Senior of Ireland, with 50 Bishops or a few more, with 300 Priests, and with 3000 Ecclesiasticks, with Murcertach O'Brian, with the Chiefs of Southern Ireland (called the half division of Moga) to establish rules and ordinances for all Irish, both Secular and Ecclesiastic."

Another Irish Synod convened by the Primate Gildas, in 1148, * is thus mentioned by Colgan;—"He called a Synod of the Bishops, *and of the Clergy*, that by *common consent* they should *decide* on all Ecclesiastical matters. The place was *Inis Patrick*, where, when 15

same Synod is mentioned under the same year, in the Annals of Inisfallen, also by Spelman Concil. t. 1, p. 392, and by the IV Masters, ann. 1111, in my printed edition, p. 695.

* "Anno 1148 S. Gelasius et Malchias, tunc Legatus, "Apostolicus, Synodum Antistitum *et Cleri* indicunt, ut *com-* " *muni consilio*, maturius de rebus Ecclesiæ *decernatur*. "Locus Conventui designatus Ecclesia de *Inis Patruicc*, quo "cum Episcopi 15, *ducenti Presbyteri*, et alii multi de clero "convenissent, post multa ad mores melius commutandos, et "reformationem Ecclesiæ spectantia, pie sancita, *communibus* " *sufragiis* decernitur, &c." Acta, p. 775.

Bishops assembled, and *two hundred Priests*, and many others of the Clergy, after many salutary enactments, they decreed by *common consent, &c.*—This Synod is mentioned thus in the Annals of the IV Masters, “*Aois Cr. “ mile. c. cethrachat a h ocht, Senadh do thionol “ occ Inis Patricc la Maolmaedhog Com. ba “ Pat. Ba he a lion coicc Eps x, con dibh “ cedaibh Sacc. d, do erail riaghla 7 soibhes “ for chach et. Thuaith 7 Ecclais.*”*

“A Synod was held at *Inis Patric*, by Malachy the successor of S. Patrick. It consisted of 15 Bishops, with 200 Priests, to enact rules and ordinances, regarding all things Secular and Ecclesiastical.”—What shall we say now of the doctrine of *Exclusive* Episcopal Synods?—Was that doctrine known to the Irish nation?

Keating’s translator says of the *Fiad mc Aengusa* Council, that “the Clergy who attended consisted of *Malmura O’Dunan*,

* From my printed edition, p. 761. The continuator of *Tigernach* and the *Annals of Inisfallen* agree.

was an Irish Bishoprick before the 11th century; and then it consisted of a Danish and other foreign influenced Clergy, who, violating the Primate of Ireland's rights, applied for consecration to a foreign Metropolitan.

An Irish Annalist of the 12th century, a coæval writer, says that Christianus of Lismore, the Pope's Legate, held a Synod in Kells, A. D. 1152, at which were present the Bishops, Abbots, Kings, Chiefs, and Elders of Ireland, by *whose consent* four Archbishopricks were established, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, Tuam, whose Bishops were *Gildas*, or Gelasius, *Gregory*, *Donat*, *Aedan*.*—A more accurate account of this Synod is given in the MS. Book of Cluan *Eidneach*,† and it seems to be no other than

* “ De his quidam ejusdem Seculi Annalista apud
 “ Wareum, in Catalogo Episcoporum Casselensium c. 2. ex
 “ Catalogo veteri Monasteriorum Cisterciensium Melefontensis
 “ Archivii, ad ann. 1152, Christianus in Mell Concilium
 “ celebravit cui interfuerunt Episcopi, Abbates, Reges, Duces,
 “ et Majores natu Hiberniæ; quorum *consensu* Archiepiscopatus
 “ constituti sunt quatuor.” For *Mell* read *Kells*, as
 justly corrected by Colgan Acts p. 655 and 775.

† Compare Colgan's Trias p. 306.

the Synod of Drogheda, which is thus mentioned in the Irish Annals.

ANNALS OF THE IV MASTERS, MCLII.

*“ Aois Cr. mile ced caeccr a do—Coimthion
 “ ol Seanaidh in Droichet Atha ag Epscop. Er.
 “ im Comahrba Patricc, imon Ccairdianal Jo-
 “ hannes Paprion, co ttribh milibh mac n
 “ Eclásctacda, et. Meanch 7 Chananchaibh, co
 “ ro ord set araill do riaghlaibh ann.” i. e.*

“ A. D. 1152—An assembly of a Synod in Drogheda by the Bishops of Ireland, with the successor of S. Patrick, with Cardinal John Paparo, with 3000 Ecclesiasticks, as well Monks as Canons, who enacted many laws there.”

Another such Synod occurs in 1157, at Mellifont, near Drogheda; and of another again in the course of 1158, the IV Masters say—

*Aois Cr. mile ced caoccat a h ocht—Coimthionol Senaidh oc
 Cleirchibh Er. occ Bri. m. Taidhg hi Llaoghair. bhail irrab-
 hattar coicc Epscoib fhichet, im Legaitt comharba Petair, do
 eraíl riaghla 7 Soibhes. As don cur sin ro ord set cleir Er.
 im Com. ba Pat. Cathaoir amm. gach n Eapscob do Com. ba;
 Colaim cille do Flaithbertach ua Brolchain, 7 Ardabdhaine
 Ceall Er. do coitchend. Epscoib Connacht dan ro battar occ dol
 gus an Senadh sin do shlatt 7 do bhual, 7 dias dia muinte*

domharb hiicuir Cluana, iar bsagbhail Cluana doibh, la anns. Diarmada ui Maoileachl. ri Mide, 7 ro soitt dia ttighibh.—i. e.

MCLVIII. An Assembly of a Synod of the Clergy of Ireland at *Brigh-m. Thaig*, in the district of *Laogaire*, where were present 25 Bishops with the Legate of the successor of S. Peter, to enact laws and good morals: It was then that the Clergy of Ireland enacted, with the successor of S. Patrick, that an Episcopal Cathedral like that of every other Bishop, should be assigned to the successor of S. Columba, Flahertach O'Brolchan, and besides the Supreme Presidency over all the Abbatial churches of Ireland in general. The Bishops of Connacht whilst on their way to this Synod, were robbed and beat, and two of their people were killed near Cluan, after they had left Cluanmacnois, by the Satellites of Dermot O' Melachlin King of Meath, and they returned home.*

* Annal. IV Mag. Buckingham, printed edition, p. 795.

Colgan referring to these Annales, translates this passage thus. “Ea fuit vice qua Clerus Hibernicus, cum Successore S. Patricii, *communi consilio* decreverunt, Cathedram Episcopalem, ad instar aliorum Episcoporum, dandam esse successori S. Columbæ.” Acta p. 655. No. x.

This however was not the origin of the See of Derry, for I find a Bishop of Derry in 927, another in 937, another in 948; neither was this the first time that the Abbots of Derry exercised Jurisdiction as S. Columba's Successors, over all the other Monasteries of Ireland, for I find them acknowledged as superiors of their whole institute, in 1150, 1151, 1153, as in these Annals of the IV Masters, and in those of Ulster.—Nothing therefore was here meant more than a solemn recognition of their ancient Rights by the Primate, and a union of the Episcopal and Abbatial jurisdiction, in the person of O'Brolchan.

5. I fear that I am dwelling too long on this subject; and no one can feel more than I do the danger which every author encounters from prolixity—but yet so much remains to be said, which was never said before, that I will hope for indulgence, whilst I endeavour to submit plainly, and *bona fide*, to my countrymen, what were the genuine principles, and what the practice of their Ancestors, with regard to points of discipline so immediately interesting to themselves.

The annals of the IV Masters give the following account of a Synod held in 1162:

“*Aois Cr. mile ced Seasccat a do—Senad Cleirech n Er,*
 “*im Comharba Pat. Giolla mac Liag mc Ruaidhri hi Cclaon*
 “*airm i rabhattar se h Eps. fichet go n Abd. iomd. occ erail*
 “*Riaghla 7 Soibhes for feraibh Er. Laec, Cleirch, 7 as dan*
 “*cur sin ro cinnsset Cler. Er. nab. Ferleighinn icill in Er. an*
 “*fer na badh Dalta Ardamacha c. us.*”^{*}—i. e.

MCLXII. A Synod of the Clergy of Ireland with the

*. Annal. IV Mag. printed edition p. 809. Colgan referring to these Annals in his Acts, p. 777, says, “Anno 1162 S. “*Gelasius indixit Synodum in loco Claonadh, in qua, cum*
 “*multis Abbatibus, aliisque de Clero, comparuerunt Episcopi*
 “*26, et præscriptæ sunt constitutiones, bonos mores et Disci-*
 “*plinam concernentes.*”—Were these Synods of Bishops ex-
 clusively?

Successor of Patric, Gildas mac Liag mac Rory, at *Clonadh*, where were 26 Bishops, with Abbots a great multitude, enacting laws and morals for the people of Ireland, Laity and Clergy; and it was then that the Clergy of Ireland ordained that none should be Professors of Theology in any Church of Ireland, who were not educated at Armagh previously.

As a great encourager of learning, I mention *Gildas* with profound respect.* He was one of those great and good Irish Bishops, who deemed it a profanation of holy things, to oppose *uncanonical* censures to arguments; who abhorred the idea of endeavouring to overwhelm solid learning, and to *hypocritize* genuine piety, by the fear of an unjust exclusion from the Sacraments, or by the impious menace of an *ipse dixit* excommunication.

6. The next Synod that I find mentioned in the Irish Annals, would require a separate dissertation, to illustrate the various questions which present themselves to the minds of all

* The Primate Gildas here mentioned, is that *Gildas mac Liag*, in whose time I have elsewhere shewn, that a beautiful copy of the Gospels in Irish characters, now preserved in the British Museum, was written.

See my Epistle Prefatory to the Irish Annals, giving an account of all the Irish MSS. in the Bodleian, Cotton, and Stowe Libraries.

1. *Il primo* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. Non si tratta di un *oggetto* statico, ma di un *processo* dinamico che si evolve nel tempo. La *scienza* è quindi una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

2. *Il secondo* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri.

3. *Il terzo* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

4. *Il quarto* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

5. *Il quinto* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

6. *Il sesto* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

7. *Il settimo* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

8. *Il第八* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

9. *Il nono* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

10. *Il decimo* è che la *scienza* è una *attività* che si svolge in un *contesto* di *relazioni* con il mondo e con gli altri. La *scienza* è una *pratica* che si fonda su una *teoria* e che si applica a situazioni concrete.

nech for a cele isin Comhdail, tre rath an Righ ro thionoil na Maithe sin con a slogh. go h aon ionadh. i. e.*

MCLXVII. A great Council assembled by Roderic O'Connor, with the Chiefs of the Northern half of Ireland, as well Laity as Clergy, and with the Chiefs of the Danes (or Ostmen) of Dublin, at *Athboy Tlatchga*. Came thither the successor of Patrick, Cadla (or Catholicus) O'Duffy Archbishop of Connacht, Lorcan O'Tool Archbishop of Leinster, Tigernan O'Ruarc Lord of Breffny, Donnchad O'Carrol Lord of Uriel, and the son of Dunnslevy O'Eochada King of Ulad, and Diarmid O'Melachlin King of Tara, Ragnal mac Ragnail Lord of the Danes, Donnchad O'Faolan Chief of the Desies. The complement of the whole collected and assembled, was 13000 Horse, 6000 of Connacht, 4000 with O'Ruarc, 2000 with O'Melachlin, 4000 with O'Carroll and O'Eochad, 2000 with Donnchad O'Faolan, and 1000 with the Danes of Dublin. Many good ordinances were enacted in that assembly, touching the privileges of Churches and Clergy, and restraints on Clergy and Laity, great and small, so that women travelled in safety alone through all Ireland; and the Hi Falian restored compensation for the spoils they had taken from the Primate, into the hands of the above Kings.—They separated afterwards in peace and concord, without any battle or quarrel, without any recrimination of one against the other, owing to the successful prudence of the King (Roderic) who assembled those great Lords with their armies to one place.†

7. It may be objected to this last Synod, that it was not properly ecclesiastical, but mixed; composed of spiritual and temporal persons, and

* Annal IV Mag. printed edition, p. 821—822.

† Compare Colgan's Acta SS. p. 778.

something resembling the Witenagamote of the Saxon Kings.

I will not therefore insist upon any argument that might be founded on this Convention of the States of Ireland in 1168, further than to observe that no Idea of an *exclusive* Synod of Bishops, in which the second order of the Clergy were to have no part, was entertained at that time—On the contrary, it was an opinion universally received, that all persons whose interests were discussed in such meetings should take a share in the discussion, as already noticed with respect to the Council of Kilkenny in 1642,* and that they should subscribe and have decisive votes on all matters relating to their own affairs; and it is on this account that we sometimes find Abbesses admitted to sit, to vote, and to subscribe, as having both temporal and spiritual jurisdiction over the different Monasteries of the orders to which they belonged.

8. In the first Synod held in England, that

* Columbanus, No iv. p. 69, &c.

of Verulam 446, Bede says that an *immense multitude* of the Clergy attended; in the second, assembled by S. Germanus, against Vortigern, *all the Clergy of Britain* attended.

We have two accounts of a Welsh Synod in 520, that of Giraldus, who calls it a council of all the Clergy of Wales, "*totius Cambriæ Clero*," p. 17, and that of Ricemarchus in his life of S. David, who calls it an assembly of Bishops, Priests, and Abbots. "*Collecta Episcoporum, Sacerdotum, Abbatum turba*." ib. p. 18, and MS. of Saxon Councils at Stowe.

In the Saxon Synod, held by Theodore of Canterbury 680, we find the second order *convened* as well as the first.—"*Collecto venerabilium Sacerdotum Doctorumque plurimorum Cætu*." In the Saxon Synod of *Calcuth* 787, after the subscriptions of the Kings, Archbishops and Bishops, this follows "to these wholesome admonitions, the Presbyters and Deacons of Churches, the Abbots, Judges and Nobles subscribed."

9. I grant it does not follow, in strict logick, that because Priests and Deacons subscribed to the acts of Synods, therefore they had a right



so to do ;--but my argument is not founded upon *mere Subscription*, but upon *these facts*, that, in the Acts of the Apostles, and wherever the Acts of Ecclesiastical Councils have reached us in their original purity, we find not only that the second order are mentioned, as having sat and discussed the subject in debate, voted and subscribed, but that they did so as *Assessors*, having jurisdiction and authority so to do, as *fellow overseers* of the flock ; that the same expressions which are used to signify the *coming together of Bishops* to discuss and decide, are used also with respect to the second order, as in Acts xv, 4, 6 ; that both subscribe in the same authoritative manner ;* that the

* Baluzius observes in his *New Collection of Councils* t. 1, p. 1460, that in the Roman Council under Pope Symmachus in 498, as many Priests subscribed as Bishops, naming their *Parochial Titles* as the Bishops named their Dioceses.—Thus “ *Martianus Presbyter Tituli S. Cæciliæ*—*Gordianus Presbyter Tituli Pammachii*--*Petrus Presbyter Tituli S. Clementis*, &c.—How was it possible for them more plainly to express that they subscribed in their own names ? They subscribe in the *same form and manner* as the Bishops did.

After Pope Symmachus had subscribed to the Acts of his Roman Council, having the *το χυρος* in that assembly,

fourth Council of Carthage voids the sentence of a Bishop, if he gives it without the concurrence of his Clergy;* and that though the laity are often present, and sometimes some of the principal amongst them subscribe, yet they never debate or discuss.—Thus we find (Acts xv.) that the brethren were admitted to see and

thus—“*Cælius Symmachus Episcopus S. Ecclesiæ Catholicæ Urbis Romæ, his Constitutis Synodalibus, a me probatis, atque firmatis, consentiens subscripsi*—the other Bishops subscribed thus, *Cælius Rusticus Episcopus Civitatis Meturensis his subscripsi et consensi Synodalibus constitutis, atque in hac me profiteor manere sententiâ.*” And the Presbyters and Deacons exactly in the same form and manner—“*Cælius Januarius Presbyter Tituli Vestinæ his consensi et subscripsi Synodalibus Constitutis; atque in hac me profiteor manere sententiâ*---*Cyprianus Diaconus Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Romanæ, Regionis VII, his subscripsi, et consensi Synodalibus Constitutis, atque in hac me profiteor manere sententiâ.*”

* Canon 23. Compare the subscriptions of the second order in the Council of Ephesus Baluz. Nova Collect. Concil. t. 1, p. 507, 519, and Pamelius's notes ad S. Cypr. Ep. 40, n. 10.—Claudius Fortius, a very learned Divine of Turin, has shewn the ancient right of Priests to vote in Synods, in his erudite work “*De antiquo jure Presbyt. in Regim. Eccles. Taurini 1676*”---He intended to have shewn, if he had lived, how that right came to devolve on Deans and Chapters. Molanus touches this subject slightly in his book *De Canonicis* l. 1, c. 27, and l. 2, c. 2,

hear, and to unite with the *Apostles* and *Elders* in their final decree ; but it is not said of them, as of the Apostles and Elders, that *they came together to consider* of this matter ; and that when there had been *much disputing*, they agreed, &c.

Here was a long debate, but it was only between the Apostles and Elders ; and it is evident that the Elders or Priests debated as well as the Apostles, for the question was put to *them* ; and *they* came together to consider of it ; and when *they* had agreed with the Apostles, they drew up their Synodical Epistle—It is true that they inserted the Brethren in the inscription of it, but their Decrees are afterwards expressly called “ *the Decrees that were ordained of the Apostles and Elders at Jerusalem.*” Acts xvi. 4.

10. The most learned Catholic, as well as Protestant divines, agree that this council was intended as a model for all others, and it appears obvious that this was the main design of it ; for any one of the Apostles could have decided authoritatively on the subject, each being

gifted with personal inspiration.—But they would leave to their successors an example that Church affairs should be managed in common, fairly and above board.—If their Irish successors had followed that example, we should have had no such smuggled Resolutions as those which our Bishops sent to Lord Castlereagh in 1799; no such disgraceful Synods as those of Tullow in 1809, or of Dublin in 1810; no such fabulous miracles as those of the *proscribed*, and *excommunicated*, Druidic Wells of Wales and Ireland; no *new Test Acts* such as that which has been framed in a *secret, exclusive*, Synod of Apostolic Vicars,* who, if this system is tolerated, may introduce

* See above, p. 36, and 51. This new *Test Act* would depose half the Catholic Clergy of Ireland.

“ L’ Eglise de France tien *pour certaine*, que le Pape peut
 “ tomber dans des erreurs, et dans des fautes, qui *meritent l’*
 “ *excommunication, et la deposition*; et qu’ il peut embrasser
 “ la communion des Heretiques, et des Schismatiques, et se
 “ separer ainsi de la communion de l’ Eglise Universelle; au
 “ quel cas, les autres Eveques ne devorient plus communier
 “ avec lui.—Selon ces maximes, qui doivent *passer pour con-*
 “ *stantes* parmi nous, le Pape peut etre excommunie, &c.”

any *profession of faith* they please, and fetter every Catholic *Annalist*, and every *Historian*, by censures at will, and deprivation at discretion, without any regard to the wisdom, and sanctity of 1800 years!

11. I admire a favourite expression of Louis the XIIth's, of France.—“The advantages that
“my enemies may derive from *unjust* means,
“can astonish no one, and I envy them not.
“They use arms against me, which I disdain to
“employ.—If honour and truth be banished
“from the breasts of all other men, it should
“reside in the breast of a Sovereign.”

Regardless therefore of slanderous imputations, I will say with the ancient author of the Commentary on S. Paul, which is ascribed to S. Ambrose, that “the second order of the
“Clergy have suffered their right of suffrage
“in Synods to go into disuse, *partly from*

Dupin Traité de l' excom. et Biblioth. des Auters du 18me Seicle t. 1, p. 44, Paris 1636.

This is the belief of the second order of the Irish Clergy, and of all Irish, except of the foreign influenced Courtiers, and Mitre hunters of England and Ireland.

**“the haughty usurpation of Bishops, and partly
“from their own sloth.”***

12. Notwithstanding the many abuses which have prevailed, do we not see floating amidst the wrecks of ages, the venerable vestiges of our ancient discipline, in the actual state of the Roman Church, where provincial Synods are invariably composed of the *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* of the Roman Province, down to our own times?†—Do we not find them floating down with the stream of Time in the College of Cardinals, which is composed of Cardinal *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* to this day?—

Latterly, indeed, some of those Cardinals had episcopal Sees, in countries remote from the Metropolitcal jurisdiction of Rome; but it is a *constant rule to this day*, that they shall be at least *titular* Bishops, Priests, or Deacons, of some Church within the limits of that jurisdiction, else they could not be deemed, even

* Comment in I Tim. 5, opera S. Ambrosii.

† Cabassut. Notit. Concil, p. 53—Compare Dupin's excellent work De Antiq. Eccl. Discipl. Paris 1686, page 246 &c.

figuratively, representatives of its Clergy,—
or have any vote in the Conclave.

Inquire my good Countrymen—examine—
satisfy your own eyes on this subject—look
to originals, ascertain whether all cardinals
were not invariably distinguished by the *titles*
of Roman Churches down to the time of
Leo X, and *decide for yourselves*.

Proud of his Medicean origin, inflated with
worldly grandeur, looking, almost from his
infancy, to the sovereign dominion of the
Queen of Cities, and already fancying himself
enthroned on the Capitol of the Cesars, Leo,
when appointed Cardinal by Pope Innocent
VIII, *at the age of 14*, scorning to assume his
title of Cardinal of *Deacon of S. Mary*, had
himself styled *Cardinal de Medicis*! He broke
down the barriers of the ancient discipline; and
being followed by others as proud as himself,
he laid the foundation for subsequent abuses,
to which the honest, laborious, officiating
Parish Priests of Rome have nothing now
more than vain regrets and humble prayers to
oppose.—When Cardinal Kemp was enthroned

Archbishop of Canterbury in 1452, he was saluted by his title of Cardinal of *S. Rufinus*, and as such only could he have a voice in the Conclave.—I could name hundreds of instances, but the facts are notorious; and so if it should be asked where Priests have a *negative* voice in Councils, I answer even in the *very centre* of Catholicity; in Rome, where all the Cardinals, whether *Bishops, Priests, or Deacons* have an *equal right of suffrage*; in the most ancient Episcopal Church in the world; in the *eternal City*!—Cardinal Paleotti, Bishop of Bologna, one of the most learned Cardinals Italy has produced, declares that the many Theologians hold that the Pope's acts are *null and void*, if done without the consent of the College of Cardinals.*

* Palæotti De Sacr. Consist Consult. part 1, qu. 3, Art. 7, and in his preceding section, Art. 2.—When the Dominican Friar *de Angelis* maintained in 1482 that the Pope was *above the Laws of the Church*, and could abrogate the Canons “*Papa potest totum jus Canonicum destruere et novum construere*,” the Sobonae proscribed this proposition as blasphemous, and compelled him to retract it.—The learned Dominical Notaris Alexander laments the blind infatuation

Are the Irish Bishops more learned than the whole College of Cardinals were, at a time when there was more solid learning centred in that College than ever was before, and perhaps than ever will be again? and that too, when there is actually so much less learning amongst the Irish Bishops than ever was known before, that feeling themselves unequal to the task of refuting *Columbanus*, they are compelled to hire an *Advocato del diavolo*, hoping peradventure, that he may chance to give some colour of justice, if possible, to the novelty of their usurpations!

13. Countrymen, if ever any end is to be put to the unhappy Religious Dissentions, which so often, and so fatally, interrupt the tranquility, and impede the prosperity of our native land,

of his sycophant brother. Hist. Eccl. t. 3, p. 118, and proves from the 14th and 15th Canons of Antioch, the 3d, 4th, and 7th of Sardis, and hundreds of others, that Episcopal jurisdiction must be exercised Canonically, or be *null* and *void*.

it must be by some equitable, charitable, and rational method, such as the *Canonical* rules of church government, which I thus venture to submit to you, so manifestly prescribe.—Such a desirable object can never be attained by *blind submission* to the will of an individual, who aims at governing Millions by *Imperial Caprice*; that was the species of government which overturned the established religion of Europe in the 15th century; it was the government of the *Borgias*, of Alexander VI, and of Julius II. It shook the whole system of Europe in the Medicean Pontificates of the 16th century. *Be assured that it will not, it cannot do in the 19th.*

14. If ever England and Scotland are to be united in one faith, it must be by restoring to the *College of Priests*, the Deans and Chapters, their original rights, in due canonical subordination to Episcopacy.—If this were done, is it to be supposed that such a plodding, such a thinking people as the Scotch, could object to have Bishops at the head of their Presbyteries, instead of temporal *Moderators* and

Chairmen, who exercise the Episcopal power, under another appellation?*

15. It may be objected, indeed, that Priests being inferiors, ought not to vote in Councils where Bishops are accused.—But this objection vanishes, when we consider that Bishops are tried in Provincial Councils, which are composed of the first and second order, where the Metropolitan has a casting voice; and that therefore they are not put on ~~their~~ trial before any inferior Tribunal.

* “ Moderate Episcopacy, says Hammond, with a standing
 “ assistant Presbytery, as it will satisfy the desires of those
 “ whose pretensions are regular and moderate, so it will be
 “ that, which all parties can best tolerate.” *Treatise on the*
power of the Keys.—King Charles I, who was a steady friend
 to Episcopacy, after declaring his firm conviction that it is
 of *Divine origin*, in his *Pourtraicture*, § 171, adds—“ not that
 “ I am against the managing of this presidency and authority
 “ in one Man, by the *joint counsel and consent of many Pres-*
 “ *byters*. I have offered to restore that, as a fit means to
 “ avoid those errors, corruptions, and partialities, which are
 “ incident to *any one Man*; also to avoid *Tyranny*, which be-
 “ comes no Christians, least of all Churchmen. Besides it
 “ will be a means to take away that burden and *odium* of
 “ affairs, which may lie too heavy for one Man’s shoulders, as
 “ I think it formerly did on Bishops here.” Compare his
Eikon Bas. Hague 1648, p. 141, 166,

Of a Synod of 90 Bishops, where *Privatus* a Bishop was condemned, and of another where *Jovinus*, *Maximus*, and *Fortunatus*, were also condemned, S. Cyprian expressly says, “if we
 “compute the numbers of those who *past*
 “*judgment* upon them last year, with the
 “*Priests* and *Deacons*, there were more present
 “at that judgment, than now seem to be in
 “their whole party.” Other instances may be seen below.*

The truth is, that the *subordination* which every Priest owes to his Bishop, has been misinterpreted into an *absolute* subjection, which is repugnant to the spirit, and hostile to the most venerable laws of the Christian church.

* “Si eorum, qui de illis priore anno *judicaverunt*, numerus
 “*cum Presbyteris et Diaconis* computetur, plures tunc affu-
 “erunt *judicio et cognitioni*, quam sunt iidem isti, qui cum
 “*Fortunato* nunc videntur esse conjuncti.” S. Cypr. Ep. 55.

Matthew of Westminster calls the council of Winchester convened against A. Bishop *Stigand*, in 1070, “a *Council of the whole Church of England*.” So does Rudborn. Abbots and diverse orders attended in the Council of Windsor 1072, also in S. Lanfranc’s of 1075—6, in that of 1125, 1129, in all of which Bishops were put on their trials. See the Stowe MS. of *Saxon Councils*, Spelman, and Wilkins.

The councils which order Priests to be subordinate to Bishops, order Bishops to be subordinate to Metropolitans; but does it follow from the superiority of Metropolitans over Suffragans, that Suffragans cannot sit in councils, or discuss, judge, and decide on articles of faith or Discipline? and if it does not, how can an argument, which is so defective in point of *form* and of *fact*, be tolerated with respect to the second order, which cannot be borne with respect to the first?—I beg leave to refer to Dupin's words in a subsequent note page 103, where the doctrine of the Galican Church on this subject is satisfactorily explained.

May the spirit of God, instead of the spirit of *dominion*, govern those, who, having it now in their power to give good example—by *restoring the Discipline of Christianity*—can contribute to restore to us Irish our National Church; adopting a model of Church

* See Dupin, du Gouvernement des Dioceses en commun, par les Eveques et les Cures. Biblioth. des Auteurs du 18me. Siecle t. 1, p. 415, a Paris 1736.

Government, founded upon the Acts of the Apostles, c. xv, and on the four first General Councils,* which the Scottish Presbyterian, and the English Protestant, may equally admire; shewing the former that Presbytery is never so effectual or holy, as when it is governed by a moderate Episcopacy; and shewing the latter, that Episcopacy is never so respectable or efficacious, as when it is associated with its *fellow Overseers*, its *Senate*, its *Assessors*; that the Church of God admits of no *despotism*; and that *Rinuccini Censures*, and *Castabala* depositions *ad Libitum*, are fit only for the latitude of the Divan.

16. I shall be brief on the third great restraint which the wisdom and sanctity of ages, has imposed on the abuse of Episcopal power.

It is surely most evident, that Synods would be nugatory, if Bishops could censure or deprive Clergymen *at will*; for then the second order

* I mention the four first, because they are received by the English Church in the reign of Elizabeth. I. Eliz. c. 1 and 2, also Justinian Code, Novella 181.

must submit to any law, and subscribe any *Test Act*, and publish any excommunication, which a *Rinuccini* intriguer might invent, or a *Castabala* think proper to impose.*

Fearful of this horrible abuse, the Christian

* “ La subordination ne doit pas empêcher le gouvernement
 “ en commun dans chaque Diocèse en particulier, comme
 “ dans tout l’Eglise en général ; cela est de l’usage et de la
 “ tradition de toutes les Eglises, à la réserve, peut être, de
 “ quelques unes, où il se peut trouver des Evêques, qui s’effor-
 “ cent de secouer le joug de cet ordre Divin et Apostolique, en
 “ entreprenant de tout faire, de tout régler, et de tout
 “ changer sans la participation de leurs Curés, et où ils n’
 “ assemblent leurs Synodes, que pour prescrire tels loix ou
 “ tels statuts que bon leur semble, sans leur en demander
 “ leurs avis, et sans vouloir même écouter les humbles repre-
 “ sentations qu’ils leur font, pour leur faire entendre que les
 “ nouvelles ordonnances qu’ils veulent introduire sont con-
 “ traires aux anciennes, et quelque fois même aux Sacres
 “ Canons.” Dupin ib. p. 416.—“ Après Rome, où cet esprit
 “ de Gouverner en communs est toujours conservé, il est peu
 “ d’Eglises où l’on en approche de plus près que celle de
 “ France, puisque les Assemblées du Clergé y sont toujours
 “ composées des deux ordres, du premier et du second, c’est
 “ à dire des Evêques et des Prêtres, et que dans l’année
 “ 1631, et dans les suivantes tout le Clergé adopta les senti-
 “ ments de Petrus Aurelius, par les glorieux éloges qu’il
 “ donna aux Ouvrages de ce Théologien pour la défense de la
 “ Hiérarchie.”—Ibid p. 417, &c.

Church has enacted, that the sentence of a Bishop against a Priest, shall be to all intents and purposes *null and void*, if it is pronounced by the Bishop *alone*, without the concurrence of a Synod; for that though the Bishop singly may ordain, or institute, he cannot singly *deprive of that institution*.

“ We have found, say the Fathers assembled
 “ at Sevil in 619, that *Fragitanus*, a Priest of
 “ the Church of Corduba, has been *unjustly*
 “ deposed by his Bishop, and condemned to
 “ banishment, though innocent. We have
 “ therefore restored him; and to prevent such
 “ presumption of any of us in future, *we have*
 “ *decreed, according to the decision of the*
 “ *ancient Fathers, that none of us shall here-*
 “ *after* dare to depose any Priest, or Deacon,
 “ without a trial in Council. For there are
 “ many who condemn them without examina-
 “ tion, by *a tyrannical power*, and not by
 “ *Canonical authority*; and as they advance
 “ some through favour, so others they depress
 “ through envy; condemning them on light
 “ suspicions, whose crime they cannot prove

“ A Bishop may indeed singly confer the
 “ dignity of a Presbyter or Deacon, but *he*
 “ *alone cannot take it away.* For if they, who,
 “ in a temporal state, have had the honour to
 “ be made freemen by their Lords, cannot be
 “ reduced to servitude, unless they be publickly
 “ accused at the Pretor’s or President’s tribunal,
 “ in the place of judicature, how much rather
 “ ought those to have *a fair legal trial*, who
 “ are vested with Ecclesiastical honour, and
 “ consecrated at the Altar? who ought not to
 “ be condemned *by one*, nor to be deprived of
 “ the privileges of their dignity by a *single*
 “ *judge*, but being brought before the Synod,
 “ shall be *judged there*, and what *the Canons*
 “ *prescribe concerning them*, ought to be
 “ decreed.”*

The fourth Council of Carthage enacts,
 that “ no Bishop shall even *hear* any cause

* Spanish Councils published by Cardinal d’ Aguirre,
 Rome 1694, t. 2, p. 462, Concil. Hispal. ann. 619, Canon 6.
 This Canon is confirmed by the 30th of the same Council, and
 by many others, even in Gratian’s Collection, Caus. 3.

witness against a Clergyman, who cannot *prove* his assertions *before a Synod*.*

The first Council of Arles, declares false accusers out of *the communion of the Church*, obliging them to do penance *all their lives*.†—The second confirms this decree of the first.‡ Bishops are particularly cautioned against scurrility and brawling, Cor. v. 11, and vi, 10; and the fifth Canon of the fourth Council of

* “Falsus testis prout crimen est abstinebitur. Si autem non probaverit *Conventui Clericorum*, placuit *per quinquennium* abstineri.” Concil. Elib. c. 74.

In the Theodopsian Code, Accusers are subjected by the *Lex talionis* to the same punishments which their false accusations tended to inflict. Title “*de famosis Libellis*,” and again *De Calumniatoribus*.—I leave it to the V. B. of Castabala, who accuses me of *heresy und immorality*, to extricate himself, if he can, from the toils which he has spread for himself.---*Shame* which may be defined the sorrow of *pride*, operates often where *conscience is hardened* and *religion fails*.

† “De his qui falso accusant fratres suos, placuit eos usque *ad exitum* non communicare.” Can. 14.

‡ “Eos qui falsa fratribus Capitula objecisse convicti fuerint, placuit usque *ad exitum* non communicare, *sicut magna Synodus ante constituit*, nisi digna satisfactione *pænituerint*.” Can. 24. Compare the Decree of Arles, in Labbe t. xi, p. 1337, with the Arabic Version of the 5th Canon of Nice, ib. t. ii, p. 294.

Carthage is more deserving than the *Koran* of the pious reveries, and whicker meditations of Castabala.—“Clericus maledicus, maxime in
 “Sacerdotibus, cogatur ad *postulandam veniam*.
 “Si noluerit *degradetur*.”

Perhaps there is no human propensity, no brutal passion, against which Christianity has opposed such barriers as against misrepresentation.—Look to the ancient Fathers—Look even to those Christian writers who were not always Orthodox*—See with what manly fortitude and holy indignation, a Tatian, a Tertullian, an Origen, *bid defiance* to the Pagan Priests and Philosophers, to point out one Christian who was guilty of calumniating his opponents. The indignant zeal of the Imperial Apostate, fired by this humiliating contrast, evaporates in an angry letter to his High Priest Arsacius, in which he bitterly complains that the splendour of the true faith, and the glories of Olympus, are eclipsed or obscured, by the modest virtues of the Galileans.

* Bingham's Antiquities l. 16, c. 3.

At the same time, who can abstain from candidly confessing that some Pagans have written against the impiety of falsehood, with all the spirit, all the fire, and all the justice, of the most Christian indignation?

*Ambigua si quando citabere testis
Incertaque rei, Phalaris licet imperet ut sis
Falsus, et admoto dictet perjuriam tauro,
Summum crede nefas animam præferre pudori,
Et propter vitam, vivendi perdere causas!*

Go—you who so pompously style yourself, in your last *Oglio*, in your very title page—“*D. D. F. I. A. C. R. V. A;*”—you who inform us that you are an *Apostolical Mastiff*;* you who so modestly insinuate that you are the Jerom of modern times;† and this too without any knowledge of the learned languages which he so well understood; you who allow your editor, that is yourself, to bespatter you with the most fulsome adulation, in an Advertisement prefixed to your own *dab*;‡ you who

* Letters Dublin 1811, p. 121, note. † Ibid p. 119.

‡ “The author’s works are numerous and *able* performances, his *fame is great*, the Letters, which he now publishes, are *the most valuable and interesting work*, perhaps ever

take for a genuine work of S. Ignatius of Antioch, a spurious letter addressed to one Maris of Castabala, which has been rejected with disdain, by every man who has the least tincture of ecclesiastical learning, or critical discernment.*—Go—learn from a Juvenal to be just; learn from a Pagan to be honest.—The virtues of Pagans are the reproach of Christians.—What would not a *Juvenal* have been, had he been Bishop even of the wretched Mahometan village of *Castabala*?—Juvenal knew that falsehood has a direct influence, an immediate and powerful tendency to disturb the daily intercourse of society, to corrupt the morals, to ruffle the tranquility, and to embitter the happiness of men; that in the progress of refinement, men feel as severely an attack on charac-

“ offered to the Catholics of Ireland. It would be an idle
 “ display of devotion to the author’s *wide extended*, and
 “ *universal celebrity*, were the publisher to endeavour to add
 “ to his fame, for that would be *impossible*.”—*Impossible!*

“ Il y a bien des faiseurs de livres qui se louent a des Libra-
 “ ires, pour travailler a la journee sur toute sort de sujets.
 “ Preuve trop assuree de la decadence des belles Letters en
 “ Europe.” Monsr. Coste.

* Letters Dublin 1811, p. 121, note.

ter as on life; that the rude barbarian may confine his views to his appetites, and be content with food, provided he is allowed, like the scribbler of Castabala, to fancy himself a sun round which the stars and planets revolve; to permit the Kings of this earth to be seated when he squats down to his *Chush—Chush*; and to trace in the sands what course he allows to the sun, what direction to the storm. But in proportion as the Arts and Sciences advance, and men find property in their accomplishments, and respect and esteem arising from their virtues, there springs up in the human mind an invisible, but yet a real, substantial, property of character, which ought to be sacred; a Christian fortitude, and independence of mind, for a violation of which, no Mitred Calumniator ought to find shelter under the cover of that respect, which would otherwise be due to his situation in life.*

* The fourth Council of Carthage, meaning to guard Bishops against the fatal effects of their own passions, decreed thus—

“ Veterem Ecclesiæ Africanæ disciplinam, secundum quam
 “ Presbyteros Ecclesiastici Regeminis souetatem admittebant.

§ V. *Proofs that the Discipline of the Council of Trent has never, and can never be received in Ireland.*

1. But it is objected, that though the laws to which I have hitherto referred, are undoubtedly the ancient Disciplinary Laws of the Irish Church, a new *system* has been introduced by

“ Antistites, ut S. Cypriani Epistolæ demonstrant, hæc S.
 “ Synodus renovat; *prohibens* neabsque ipsorum consilio,
 “ Episcopus Clericos ordinet; ne ipsis non *consciis* et absen-
 “ tibus, causas audiat, jusque dicat; *irritam* fore alioqui sen-
 “ tentiam; ne absque ipsorum subscriptione res Ecclesiasticas
 “ donet, vendat, vel commutet: has alioqui actiones *irritas*
 “ fore. (Canon 22, 23, and 32.)---Jubet proinde Synodus
 “ Episcopis, ut honorifice cum Presbyteris agant, nec ipsos
 “ excipiant ut servos, sed *ut Collegas*; et quamvis in Ecclesia
 “ et in *consessu Presbyterorum* sublimiores sedeant, nullibi
 “ tamen stare coram se Presbyterum patiantur.” Canon 34,
 35, apud Natal. Alexandr. Sæc. iv, c. 4, Article 12, p. 79.

This decree is founded on the 14th Canon of the General Council of Sardis, of which Natalis Alexander says---“ *Synodi*
 “ *Sardicensis Canonibus, totius Mundi Reverentia consecratis,*
 “ *nititur Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ Disciplina.*” Sæc. viii, c. 5, Art.
 2, p. 702. And yet this Gallican Discipline is that which the Irish Bishops boast, through their organ of *Castabala*, that they have resolved to a man to deny to the Catholics of Ireland; and that too, because *so they will!*

the Council of Trent.—“ I maintain, says the
 “ V. B. of Castabala, that the ten Prelates, who
 “ communicated with Lord Castlereagh (in
 “ 1799) were greatly imposed upon; for had
 “ his Lordship once hinted that it was ex-
 “ pected from them to renounce the *discipline*
 “ of the Council of Trent, (mind the *discipline*)
 “ they would have *turned their backs* upon
 “ him, with as much *disdain*, as if he had re-
 “ quired of them to give up *one of the seven*
 “ sacraments.” *

2. One of the seven sacraments!!—Allow me
 —Countrymen—to submit to your good sense
 the solid grounds, the insuperable reasons, why
 Catholic France has always rejected that very
discipline, which this *learned* reader of the
 Koran endeavours thus to identify with *articles*
of revealed faith!

Fie on't---O fie---'tis an unweeded garden,
 That grows to seed—Things rank and gross in nature,
 Possess it merely---that it should come to this.

* He alludes to those ten Bishops who smuggled the Resolutions of their *exclusive* Synod to the Castle in 1799—as in Columbanus No. i. Appendix i.

3. The Discipline of the Council of Trent has been rejected and proscribed in Catholic France; because it excommunicates, and *deprives of their temporalities*, all Princes who tolerate duelling;*—because it deprives Princes of their *temporalities* again in the 24th Session, and assumes a *temporal dominion* over Catholic Princes with regard to Ecclesiastical immunities in the 25th;†—because it declares Bishops independent of the Civil Power, and subject to the judgment of the Pope *exclusively*, in criminal causes even of the greatest magnitude.‡

* “Imperator, Reges, Duces, Principes, Marchiones, Comites, et quocumque alio nomine *Domini temporales*, qui locum ad Monomachiam in terris suis inter Christianos cesserint, eo ipso sint excommunicati; ac *jurisdictione*, et *dominio civitatis, Castri, aut loci*, in quo, *vel apud quem* duellum fieri permiserint, quod ab Ecclesia obtinent, *privati* intelligantur, et si feudalialia sint, directis Dominis *statim* acquirantur.” Sess. xxv, De Reform. c. xix, Edit. Coloniae Agr. 1672, p. 621.—The following quotations are from this edition, to which I refer for my accuracy.

† “*Cogantur omnes Principes Catholici conservare omnia Sancita quibus immunitas Ecclesiastica declaratur*,” Sess. xxv, c. 26, p. 623.

‡ Sess. xxiv, De Reform. c. 5, p. 412. “*Causæ Criminales graviores contra Episcopos*,” &c.—The French Ambassadors

A decree which is not only subversive of the Gallican liberties, and of the fundamental laws of the realm of France, but is also in diametrical opposition to the most venerable Canons of the Christian Church, as most ably shewn by Dupin, in his excellent work, *De Antiqua Ecclesiæ Disciplina*, Dissert. 2, from page 98 to the end.

4. The Cardinal of Lorraine was accused of high treason, for suffering this Act to pass without his protesting against it; and his defence consisted in alleging that he formally entered a *Salvo* in favour of the French Crown, and the privileges of the Gallican Church. Dupin however is not satisfied with this temporizing apology, because, says he, the Cardinal ought to have resisted this usurpation, with the spirit of a Frenchman, who owed allegiance to his King, and with the fortitude of a Christian. But he consoles himself with the reflection that

to the Council objected to this decree “ quia adversatur *Juri*
 “ *Regio, et Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ privilegiis, quibus cavetur ne*
 “ *quis etiam volens extra Regnum a quopiam, ex quacunque*
 “ *causa, in jus vocari, nedum condemnari possit.*”

the *discipline* of Trent, never can be tolerated in France.—“ *Quod quidem Lotharingii factum, ego probare mimine possum, nam Specie tenus illæsa esse volebat jura Ecclesiæ et Regni; revera consentiebat iis quæ illa penitus evertebant.*”*

5. And now my Countrymen, are these Articles of Discipline, which the Vicar of Castabala identifies with the Seven Sacraments, are they consistent with the *oath of allegiance*, by which we have bound our *National faith* to the established government, and *sworn* that we admit of no foreign influence, direct or *indirect*, in the temporalities of the state?

6. The discipline of the council of Trent enables Bishops to punish the authors and printers of anonymous books by a *pecuniary fine*; † to

* “Hoc uno verbo causam suam defendit, inquit Polanus, in Congregatione diei x Nov. cum legerentur Decreta publicanda in Sessione xi, *reservata fuisse jura Regis Galliae et privilegia Ecclesiæ Gallicanæ.*” Dupin de Antiq. Eccl. Discip. p. 138. Compare the whole evidence, *ibid.*

† “Nullique liceat imprimere, vel imprimi facere quosvis libros de rebus sacris sine nomine auctoris, neque illos in

enforce obedience by depriving Ecclesiasticks of *their revenues* ;* to take to themselves *exclusively*, the entire disposition of the *revenues of all Hospitals*, even though these Hospitals were founded by Laymen, and *subject to their immediate controul* ;† it empowers them to *compel* the Laity to give such maintenance to the Clergy as the Bishop may think fit.‡

7. And have you really made up your minds, good Countrymen—*really*—to settle this *Politico Tridentine* Discipline as a legacy on your posterity?—*Woe betide you if you have!*—for

“ futurum vendere, aut etiam apud se retinere, nisi primum
 “ examinati probatique fuerint ab Ordinario, *sub pœna ana-*
 “ *thematis et pœcuniæ*,” &c. Sess. iv, p. 9.

* “ Etiam per subtractionem fructuum *cogant et compell-*
 “ *lant*.” Sess. v, c. 1, p. 81, and again Sess. vii, De Reform.
 c. 4, p. 94---and denies the benefit of Appeal from the Bishop,
 Sess. xxi, c. 6, p. 227.

† Sess. xiv De Reform. c. 5, p. 173, and Sess. xxv De
 Reform. c. 8, p. 593, and particularly Sess. xxii De Reform.
 c. 8, p. 267 and 270. “ Etiam si cura eorum ad Laicos per-
 “ tineat.” p. 207, and again p. 270.

‡ Sess. xxi De Reform. c. 4, p. 222. “ *Compellere possit*
 “ *Episcopus populum ea subministrare, arbitrio Episcopi; quas*
 “ *sufficiant, &c.*”

you have *sworn* against it.—But if, as the V. B. of Castabala asserts, you are, in virtue of his *hocus pocus*, inclined to *perjure* yourselves, by holding as fast to such Discipline, as to the *seven Sacraments*, if you are so blind to the interests of your posterity, I will console myself, as Dupin did, with the *certainty* that there are profound Statesmen in England, who look to your solid and substantial independence, more sharply than you do yourselves.—Pope Borgia (Alexander VI) who claimed a right to divide the new world from pole to pole, between Ferdinand Vth of Spain, and John of Portugal, might take a fancy to such maxims as these, because he wished all the Bishops of this world to be his Satellites, and himself the Monarch of the Universe.—But recollect why this Pope was the greatest enemy to the liberty of the press that ever existed, down to the days of Buonaparte.

“ *Vendit Alexander Claves, Altaria, Cælum,*

“ *Vendere jure potest, emerat ille prius.*”

8. The Council of Trent empowers Bishops to *compel the Laity* to repair Churches; to put

the *profits* of benefices into sequestration;* to punish *Imperial and Royal Notaries* by suspending them from their *temporal* offices for ever;† to change Testator's wills;‡ it confirms Pope Boniface VIIIth's constitution, by which married men are exempted from Lay Jurisdiction, provided they become *tonsured Clercs*.§

Now I think I can understand, that any villain will be very glad to shave off a few hairs, in a circular form of a halfpenny size, from the crown of his head, provided he

* Sess. xxi de Reform. c. 5, p. 225, c. 8, p. 230.

† Sess. xxii ib. c. 10, p. 275. "Possit Episcopus quoscunque Notarios, etiamsi *Imperiali* aut *Regia* auctoritate creati fuerint, etiam tamquam Delegatus sedis Apostolicæ, officii ejus in negotiis, litibus, &c. exercendi usum, perpetuo, aut ad tempus, prohibere." It even denies the benefit of an Appeal from the Bishop's Court—"neque eorum appellatio interdictionem Ordinarii suspendat!"

‡ Sess. xxii ib. c. 6, p. 265.

§ Sess. xxiii ib. p. 299, and note 6, p. 301. It proceeds still further—"Clericum conjugatum qui, post *dimissum habitum et tonsuram Clericalem*, pro delicto aliquo in Curia *Laicali* est citatus, et ob contumaciam *condemnatus*, si deinde, reassumpto habitu et tonsura, Ecclesiæ inserviat, juxta hoc Decretum, non posse a *Judice Laico* propter id delictum in carcerem conjici, aut personaliter adstringi."

is exempt from a trial in the fore courts; but I should be sorry to meet this tonsured Saint in a dark passage, he having a long knife in one hand, and I no weapon of defence in another; and if it should be objected that the Council of Trent has ordained it so, I answer that this is one of a thousand demonstrations that Councils are not infallible, except in proposing *articles of faith*.

9. The Council of Trent empowers Bishops to enforce their sentences against Laymen, by seizing the *profits of their estates*, and even *imprisoning* their persons; to convert the Revenues of Hospitals to other uses; and to take them under their own exclusive jurisdiction, even though they should be Lay foundations, nay, even though they should be under the immediate jurisdiction of the Civil and of the *Regal* power! *

* “Hospitale aliquod si Episcopo visistare volenti opponatur exceptio, quod sub *immediata Regis protectione* existat, *non ad Sæcularem Judicem*, sed ad *ipsummet Episcopum* talis exceptionis cognitio, *vel definitio* pertinebit.” Ib. p. 270. See also the Index word *Hospitale*.—This and the

: 10. And now let me ask, are these principles, is this *discipline*, which the V. B. of Castabala endeavours to identify with *articles of Faith*—is it—I say, consistent with the *sworn allegiance* of the Irish people? One of the Articles of our oath of allegiance is, that no foreign power has, or ought to have any direct or *indirect* influence in the temporalities of the Irish nation.

In days of tranquility---but alas! those days are not now in the recollection of the Irish people; when the affairs of men proceeded in a train of long established regularity, which hardly required the interference of the civil power, we never calculated how we might profit of public evils, in order to advance our private and individual advantages by insidious intrigues, which tend directly to bring shame and slavery on our Religion and our Country!

It is only when uproar has assumed the

Decree relating to Lay Patronage, Sess. xxv de Reform. c. 9, p. 595 and 601, which referred the Cognizance of the *temporalities* of Lay Patrons to Bishops, was repugnant to the independence of the civil power.

tone of defiance, and when ignorance swaggers in confederacy with physical force, that *any doctrine*, which is palatable to the Mob, may be obtruded by a *Lord G. Gordon* violence, or engrafted by a *Rinuccini* infection, upon the good sense of a whole nation—it is only then that the *Discipline* of the Council of Trent may, by an insidious hypocritical cry of Religion, be declared as binding upon Ireland, as the doctrine of the Sacraments !

11. Englishmen—All you whose generous and heavenly sentiments of liberty of *conscience* it is impossible for Irishmen not to admire—You whose leading objection to Catholicity is founded on that spirit of intrigue, and religious slavery, and intolerance, which the Ultramontane *Court flatterers* inculcate and practise, even in the 19th century—~~beware—beware—~~of condemning any Church on account either of the ignorance or the hypocrisy of its Ministers. Look to the great and good men whom the Catholic Religion has produced, to our *Mabilons*, *Montfaucons*, *Calmet*s, and *Petaviuses* in modern times, to our *Jeroms* and *Augustins* in

the ancient. Amongst those you will find the honest simplicity, and the unadulterated faith of the primitive ages, with every charitable and amiable virtue, that can smooth the ruggedness of nature, or calm the most boisterous passions of the human breast. Be not misled by the folly, or deceived by the sins of self-conceited Scribblers—The sand is on the surface, the mine lies deep.

For once in my life I will venture to be a Prophet.—Ere long you shall see the generous spirit of Ireland bursting with indignation from the trammels of a vile system of *Discipline*, which has ever been the bane of our Country. A more familiar acquaintance with the tragical history of their Ancestors, will soon lead that lively and clear-sighted people to consider that the Emancipation of five millions of Catholics in the British Islands, depends upon the course they are about to pursue; that one false step, at such a crisis, leads to others, and to worse; that bodies of men, whether they are Bishops or Laymen, never part with power of which they have once obtained pos-

session;* that a Bishop, as well as any other man, who is in the habit of exacting *unjust* obedience, will daily demand still grosser submission, and yearly enforce still more servile compliance; that if there were no cowardice, there would be no insolence; and that to sycophants who purchase favour by servility, is to be imputed that haughtiness of office, and lust of uncontrollable dominion, which leaves little to be hoped from firmness, and not much to be expected from integrity.

12. It may possibly be argued, that the Council of Trent has been received by France and

* Carte speaking of the *Remonstrance* sent by the Irish to the English Commons, against Lord Strafford in 1640, says—
 “ This is the first application that I have ever observed to be
 “ made from Ireland, to an House of Commons in England.
 “ If we consider it, we shall not be tempted to lay great stress
 “ on the terrible complaints made by the confederate Irish
 “ Catholics, against the English Parliament’s intermeddling in
 “ that kingdom. If the Irish nation hath thereby lost an
 “ Independence, so desirable in any Country, they must thank
 “ their own Representatives for creating a precedent, which
 “ will subsist for ever. *For bodies of men will never part with*
 “ *any power of which they have once got possession.*” Carte
 Orm. v. 1, p. 115.

Ireland, because the doctrines defined by that Council are admitted and taught by both—
Most delectable logick!—most wonderful sagacity!—France and Ireland held these doctrines before the Council of Trent was known. Is it because they were defined in the 16th century, that they were believed and taught in the 6th?

In order to prove that the Council of Trent has been *in any shape* received by Ireland, we must prove that it has been publicly promulgated and received by a National Synod, legitimately convened, to consider and discuss that subject, and to report and promulgate accordingly.* Now the first rate French Ca-

* “ Les excommunications portees par des Canons, Constitutions, Décrets, Ordonnances, &c. qui n’ ont ete ni *publiees*,
“ ni *recues*, ne doivent point etre executees dans les lieux ou
“ ces Canons n’ ont ete ni publiees ni recus. L’ on a toujours
“ cru que la *promulgation* et l’ *acceptation* des loix Ecclesiastiques
“ etoit *absolument necessaire*, afin qu’ elles puissent
“ obliger en conscience ; que les loix meme des *Conciles généraux*
“ doivent etre publiees dans les Provinces pour avoir
“ force de loi, que la premiere precaution que les Conciles ont
“ prise pour les faire observer, a ete de les envoyer au *Metropolitain*.” Dupin *Traite de l’ Excom.* Biblioth. des auteurs
du 18me. Siecle, Paris 1636, t. 1, p. 48.

tholic Theologians absolutely deny that the Council of Trent ever was received in any sense, either with respect to its *doctrines*, or its *discipline*, by the Gallican Church.*

What opinion then are we to entertain of him, who endeavours to mislead you by placing the *Discipline* of the Council of Trent on a level with the doctrine of the seven Sacraments?—Surely those false *Devotees*, whose counterfeit piety affects to be shocked at every attempt to oppose abuses, which are sanctioned by a foreign influenced Vicar, ought rather to scruple a daring violation of the laws of the Christian Church, and a sacrilegious attempt to place human institutions on a level with the

* “ *Il est certain que le Concile de Trente n’ a jamais été*
 “ *recu en France dans les formes, pour ce qui est de la doctrine,*
 “ *non plus que pour la discipline.—Le Docteur Du Val même*
 “ *appuie cette opinion dans une Livre qu’ il a composé en*
 “ *faveur des Papes. Nous recevons la Doctrine du Concile,*
 “ *non a cause de l’ autorité de ce Concile, mais parcequ’ elle*
 “ *étoit recue auparavant, &c. Letters Choiesies, t. 1, p. 250.*

“ *Il y a une infinité de cas reservees au Pape dans la Bulle*
 “ *in Cæna Domini, qui ne sont recus ni en France, ni dans les*
 “ *autres pays de la Chretienté, quoique le Concile de Trente*
 “ *semble en avoir approuve plusieurs.” Dupin ib. p. 60.*

ordinances of God, than to shrink from that Christian fortitude, which endeavours, as it is in duty bound, to rescue Religion from the *just* jealousy of the State, and the *just* odium of surrounding Sects.*

13. Nothing could be more natural than that some French Bishops, who lusted the temporal power conferred upon them by the Discipline of the Council of Trent, should endeavour by all means to have that Council received in France. But the Kings and the Parliaments resisted these enterprizes, with all the firmness

* “ Une autre espece de gens trop credules, sont des Chre-
 “ tiens sincerés, mais foibles, et scrupuleux qui respectent
 “ jusque a l’*ombre* de la religion, et craignent toujours de ne
 “ croire pas assez. Quelques uns manquent de lumiere; d’
 “ autres se bouchent les yeux, et n’ osent se servir de leur
 “ esprit. Ils mettent une partie de la pieté a croire tout ce
 “ que croit le peuple le plus ignorant. Pour moi j’estime que
 “ la vraie pieté consiste a aimer la *verité* et la pureté de la
 “ Religion. Que diront a S. Paul 1 Sim. iv, 7, 2 Tim. iv, 4,
 “ 4 Tit. i, 16, ceux que la timidité rend si scrupules? Diront
 “ ils qui jamais il n’y a eu de fables chez les Chretiens? Il
 “ faudroit dementir tout l’antiquité; et quand nous n’ aurions
 “ que la legende doree de Jacques de la Voragine, elle n’ est
 “ que trop suffisante.” Fleury Disc. I. No. v, p. 15, ed.
 Nismes 1785.

which they owed to their people. The *Duke of Mayne* indeed had it proclaimed by sound of trumpet in the streets of Paris, when he was a Rebel, at the head of a *Ligue*, endeavouring to dethrone Henry IV; when France was torn in pieces by civil dissensions; when sons had drawn the sword against their fathers; and towns and villages, and even the churches were drenched in blood; and when religion was the stalking horse of assassination. But when peace was restored, all these violent proceedings were declared null and void; and though subsequent assemblies of French Bishops petitioned that the Council of Trent might be received, with the restriction "*Sauf nos libertes*," as it was received by Spain for the Netherlands, the Kings and the Parliaments rejected every proposal on the subject.

14. In consequence of a very dutiful petition to Charles IX, in 1567, *he is said* to have "*promised* that he would have the Council of Trent received, when a proper opportunity would offer"—But for this pretended promise we have only the authority of *Le Pelletier*,

who was one of the *Roman Court* Petitioners on this occasion; and his own account, as registered in the Acts of the Sorbonne, sufficiently shews that no such promise was seriously made.*—Indubitably it was never *performed*; and as certainly those Doctors who had it registered, were not only entirely devoted to the *Court* of Rome, but they were by their own Countrymen, even of the Ecclesiastical order, reproached, insulted, and stigmatized, as vile, sycophant, flatterers of the Court of Rome, *Castabala* enemies to the National Church, and to the Civil Liberties of their Country! †

* “Anno D. 1567, die 1 Junii, in Comitibus publicis S. Facultatis S. M. N. Le Pelletier Regiæ Navarræ Magnus Magister, *retulit* de sua Legatione ad Regem Christianissimum Carolum IX, concitantibus honorandis Magistris nostris Emerico de Courielles, Jacobo Fabro, Guillando Format, qui *retulit* Regem *dixisse* (non scripsisse) se publicatum Concilium Tridentinum Edicto publico, *ubi nactus esset occasionem.*” Ibid.

† “Ces Docteurs estoient, en ce temps la, tout a fait devoues a la Cour de Rome. Il y en avoit parmi eux qui croioient qu’ on ne pouvoit recevoir en France le Concile de Trente avec la restriction, *Sauves les Libertez de l’Eglise Gallicane, et les Privileges des Chapitres, Communautez, et*

And will the Irish maintain in the 19th century, against their oath of allegiance, a doctrine of temporal dominion which was rejected by France in the 16th? and that too, at a time when they are claiming, as a right, to be admitted to the unrestrained benefits of the Constitution? will they stand up for a new-modelled Church Discipline, unknown to all antiquity, which is in direct opposition to the laws of their Country? Can any Council enact Laws *touching the temporalities* of any, even Catholic, State, without its consent? and, if not, how much less without the consent of a Protestant State?

15. Before I had the honour of a personal acquaintance with that invaluable friend to Religious, as well as to Civil Liberty, Sir J. C. Hipsley, I ventured to say of him, without meaning—heaven knows—any thing inconsistent with the high respect I feel for his

“*autres, sans avoir auparavant consulté le Pape! C'est ce qui*
 “*j'ai appris d' une Lettre de M. Tissart a M. Faber Syndic de*
 “*la Faculté de Theologie de Paris.*” He then gives the original
 from the Registers of the Faculty. Simon *ibid* p. 251,

integrity, that “with the *best intentions* he had
 “yet to learn the *whole extent*, and to calcu-
 “late the *different bearings* of the Catholic
 “Question, &c.” See the whole passage; Co-
 lumbanus No. i, p. 115, &c.

I am far from pretending that these pages will contribute to enlarge the stock of his information; but I will say that if an obscure individual, whose mind has been for many years employed on studies very different from these, in decyphering old MSS. and translating Celtic poetry into Latin, can yet point out new views, and appeal to Documents relating to the Catholic Question, which have not been appealed to before, that English heart, who knows how to estimate the rational liberties of his Irish fellow subjects, will do me the justice to believe, that in using the above expressions, I felt no sentiment inconsistent with respect for his eminent virtues, sincere admiration, and esteem. But he will allow me to indulge a hope, that, when he considers the principles and practices to which I advert, he will pause before he will countenance the maxims of the

Rinuccini school; and, that weighing well the calamities which those maxims have inflicted on the Irish nation, and imitating the conduct of an inflexible Statesman, whom no *Religious Cry* can unnerve, he will sternly demand an utter renunciation, an abandonment in *practice* and principle, of that Discipline which was proscribed by our Catholic Ancestors in the most Catholic times;* a Discipline which was

* Columbanus No. ii, p. 12. Irish Stat. 7, Ed. IV, 10, Hen. VII, Dublin 1678, p. 24 and 33.

The V. B. of Castabala, with his usual *profligacy of assertion*, says that I am known, and occasionally profess to speak from *the authority* of great Personages. Letters, Dublin 1811, p. 87.—Now this *he knows to be a falsehood*.—I have expressly *professed* the direct reverse. Columbanus No. i, p. 1, 2.

He adds, that I say that great Statesmen will interpose an Ægis between the Irish and their Bishops.—*Another falsehood*—I say between the Irish *and such Bishops as he*—between the Irish and a horrible *abuse* of Episcopal power—between the Irish and infamous Castabala *Rinucciniism*.

He says, that I recommend it to the Irish to take the *oath of Supremacy*. Ib. p. 93.—Is a Bishop privileged by his Mitre to be guilty of a profligate?—where do I recommend it? name—name—give my words. *Pudet—Pudet!*

I earnestly entreat of my ever respected and dear friend Doctor Hu: Mc Dermot, the representative of the ancient Chieftains of Moylurg, not to stoop so low, as to take any further notice of the V. B. of Castabala.

invented in later ages, for the aggrandizement of the *Roman Court*—a Discipline which was the principal, if not the only cause of the Reformation in the 16th century; which has afforded the most plausible arguments against the Catholic Religion; which has rendered that Religion odious, by involving it in worldly trammels and intrigues; which has kept Europe in a state of warfare for 200 years, and which has terminated in the total overthrow of the temporal dominion of Rome!

16. And you *Waterford*—you *Jamestown* Bishops of the late Synods of *Tullow* and *Dublin*—you whom so many ties of Nature, and of Religion, ought to bind faster to the true interests of the Irish people, than the bleak and barren mountains of Helevetia, bind to them their more innocent inhabitants;* remember that the only National Council, held in Ireland since the Council of Trent, was that of Kilkenny, from 1642 to 1648, which was so

* Dear is that shed to which his soul conforms;
And dear that hill which lifts him to the storms. &c.

far from receiving the Council of Trent, that, on the contrary, when our National Rights came in contact with the Discipline of that Council, they utterly rejected it.

Involved in most discouraging difficulties, from which they hoped to be extricated by Pope Innocent Xth's promise of a large sum of money in 1648, yet, on the 19th of October that year, even when the Parliament forces had made considerable impression, they preferred to that very Pope, the following complaint* —“ that his Nuncio *Rinuccini*, who had *pledged* “ *the faith of the Holy See* that no Irish Bishop “ should be appointed, and no Irish Ecclesiastical Benefice conferred, at Rome, in Ireland, “ or elsewhere, on any other than those who “ should be named and appointed, in virtue of “ the King's right of nomination, *by the Supreme* Council of the Catholics of Ireland; “ yet, he violated the plighted faith of the “ Holy See, and, *contrary to the fundamental*

* See the 5th Article of Rinuccini's Impeachment, in the first part of this *Address*, p. 207.

“ *Laws of the Realm of Ireland*, he conferred
 “ the Bishopricks of *Cloonfert* and *Ross* on his
 “ Creatures, and arrogated to himself, ever
 “ after, an uncontrolled power of conferring all
 “ the Bishopricks and Benefices of Ireland,
 “ *disinheriting the Crown*, and depriving his
 “ Majesty’s loyal subjects of their lawful
 “ rights.”

I leave it to the low casuistry, the *Mozzo-recchiaria* of an *Avvocato del Diavolo*, to reconcile this language with the pretended acceptance of the Council of Trent; and I envy not the talents, or the patriotism, of that Irish Barrister, who undertakes to maintain such an unconstitutional cause, against the truly learned, truly eloquent, truly patriotic, and truly Catholic Barristers, the *D’Arcys*, the *Plunkets*, the *Cheeverses*, the *Delayhods*, the *Birfords*, the *Cusacks*, &c. &c. who resisted the Roman Court maxims, from the days of Strafford, to that fatal day, when the excommunication of Waterford caused the violation of our National faith in 1646, and that still more fatal day, when the excommunication of Jamestown put a

final period to the expiring liberties of our Country in 1648. *

§ VI. *Historical Narrative of Irish affairs from the surrender of Dublin 1646.—Pope Alexander the VIIth's Nuncio makes an offer of a Veto in the appointment of Irish Bishops, to the King of England, in 1664.*

1. I have already observed that persons who are indulged in exacting *unjust* obedience, gradually rise in their demands, in proportion as they are flattered by sycophant compliance,

* “ Counsellor Plunket, Lord *Fingal's* Uncle, was the
 “ mouth of the Committee appointed from Ireland to prose-
 “ cute Lord Strafford, and he supported them with all his
 “ eloquence.” Carte’s Ormond, v. 1, p. 118.—“The Irish
 “ Catholics of the Pale, were chiefly under the influence of
 “ Lawyers, such as *Mr. N. Plunket, Mr. Birford, Mr. P.*
 “ *Darcy*, a set of men, who, though the most active of any
 “ for the redress of grievances, *in a Parliamentary way*, are yet
 “ always averse to war, in which their Profession is of little
 “ use.” *ib.* p. 165—Compare pages 134.

Will that Irish Catholic Barrister, who has sold himself to the *Rinuccinis* and the *Castabalas* of Ireland, prostitute his talents, such as they are, by attempting to defend the Ultramontanist of the enslavers of his Country. See above, p. 23.

or gratified by unresisting concession. Look my Countrymen to the conduct of Rinuccini, as mentioned above p. 135, turn back to his conduct in a Session at Kilkenny in 1647.—*By the shade of Columbanus you shall hear me.*

In order to outvote our Gentry and Nobility in that Session, he introduced *eleven* newly appointed Bishops elect, of his own creation, ordering them to take their seats in the Assembly; and though *not one of them was consecrated*, and the Catholic Barristers *of that day*, contended loudly against their admission, alleging that, by the Law of the Land, no Bishop elect could, before he was consecrated, and until he possessed the *Temporalities* of his See, sit and vote in Parliament, yet the Nuncio, assuming a tone of absolute sovereignty, ordered them without further ceremony to take their seats!—"His Holiness shall not be affronted in my presence, said he, let us see who will dare to turn us out." Carte v. 2, p. 17.

Englishmen—blame yourselves if the affronted spirit of high minded Ireland was compelled to surrender to this impertinence!

The conduct of your Ancestors towards our Country, obliged our Ancestors to submit to a thousand indignities, rather than submit to them.—Goaded into rebellion by forfeitures, they had recourse to Ultramontaniam, not from choice, but *from necessity*; a choice of *coils*; a vile alternative, of which I have often heard my Grandfather and Doctor Curry most bitterly complain!---They, unfortunate, ill-fated men, would have spurned every idea of submitting to Italian insolence, if they had experienced a more kindly treatment, and kindred benevolence from you! The pride of Ancestry alone would have rescued them from such ignominy.--But, alas! your Ancestors have sinned against us even more—*much more*—than we have sinned against them. It is high time that there should be an end of this dissension.

Restrain, as you ought, the turbulence of those who make a stalking-horse of Religion; but emancipate the property, cherish the industry, encourage and cultivate the *sincere* piety of the Catholic; and then you will find brethren, and bold and valiant brethren too, where now

you find only *avowed* hostility, or *hypocritical* friendship, and religious gasconade.—And you, *my Countrymen*, restrain your impetuosity—the virtues of Englishmen will do justice to the manliness of our feelings.—Meantime, let us derive wisdom from history.

Experience shews that Christian firmness operates often in an inverse ratio to sycophant compliance; the Irish history of this period affords a striking instance of this truth, which it would be unpardonable in me to omit, especially as the facts I am about to unfold, though very important, are not generally known.

2. At the restoration of Charles II, there were but three Catholic Bishops remaining in Ireland. *Edmund O'Reily* of Armagh, *Anthony Mac Geoghagan* of Meath, and an old bed-ridden man, *Owen O'Swiney* of Kilmore.

To these Bishops, and to some others of the Clergy, Peter Walsh, then residing in London, wrote letters, entreating that they would all join in a gratulatory address to the King, on his restoration; and profess their

allegiance in the most strong and humble manner, lest the conduct of many of them during the war, might be objected to their posterity, and involve them in a new persecution.

The Clergy eagerly adopted this proposal. The three Bishops above mentioned, with many of the second order, signed an Instrument, and sealed it with the seals of their respective dignities and offices, appointing Walsh agent for the Irish Clergy in London, and empowering him to act for them as he might deem most expedient, especially towards procuring a ratification of the articles of peace concluded with Ormond in 1648.—This document was not signed *only* by four Archbishops, arrogating to themselves *exclusively* a right to nominate a Castabala agent for three millions of people; it was signed by the second order of the Irish Clergy, as well as by the first; and in far greater numbers; and to this Instrument so signed, several of the expatriated Irish Bishops and Priests, namely, those of *Dromore, Ardagh, Ferns*, by his Proxy from Spain, and others, most willingly subscribed.—Their commission so signed, may

be seen in Latin and English, in Walsh's history of the Remonstrance. It is dated Jan. 1. 1660 old stile.

In the negociation thus committed to him, Walsh proceeded with considerable sagacity and success, until a pretended Popish plot for seizing on the Castle of Dublin in 1661—2, obstructed his progress, and caused new severities on the part of the Irish Parliament to ensue.—To counteract the effect of such calumnies, as many of the Irish Catholic Gentry and Clergy, as could safely assemble in Dublin, signed a *Remonstrance*, or Declaration of their principles, addressed to the King, which was written, not by Peter Walsh, as the Castabulas of that day asserted, but by *Richard Belling*, with the hearty consent of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, who signed it.

Countrymen—have a little patience—I shall make a narrative of twenty folio MSS. as short as possible. It is necessary that you should know what calamities were brought upon your ill-fated Ancestors, by foreign influenced intrigues.

Belling had witnessed these calamities—
 “*quarum pars magna fuit.*”—Thoroughly
 aware of the casuistry, the *double meanings*,
 and reservations of the Court flatterers of
 Rome, he drew up this Remonstrance in such
 a shape, and in such terms of allegiance, as
 should render it quite impossible for any of the
 Subscribers ever to be governed by the foreign
 maxims, ever to be misled by the *Politico-*
Theological censures, which had caused such
 an *Iliad* of evils to his Country.

In fact, this Remonstrance declares that the
 Subscribers will adhere to their allegiance
 to the King, though the Pope should excom-
 municate and depose him; it implies that they
 would fight against the Pope, though he should
 invade Ireland in person, and that too under
 any pretence whatsoever of Religion, and
 though it were with an intent of restoring their
 estates to the ancient Catholic Proprietors.

“*We confess and declare, that notwithstanding any power or*
 “*pretension of the Pope, or See of Rome, or any sentence*
 “*or declaration, of what kind or quality whatever, given, or*
 “*to be given by the Pope, his Predecessors or Successors, or*
 “*by any authority spiritual or temporal, proceeding or derived*

“from him or his See, against your Majesty or royal authority,
 “we will still acknowledge and perform to the uttermost of our
 “abilities, our faithful loyalty and true allegiance to your Ma-
 “jesty. And we openly disclaim and renounce all foreign
 “power, be it either Papal or Princely, spiritual or temporal,
 “in as much as it may seem able, or shall pretend, to discharge
 “or absolve us from this obligation, or shall any way give us
 “leave or licence to raise tumults, bear arms, or offer any
 “violence to your Majesty’s person or Government; being all
 “of us ready not only to discover all treasons which shall
 “come to our hearing, but also to lose our lives in defence of
 “your Majesty, &c. &c.”

Aware that objections to the Catholicity of this Remonstrance would be started by the the *Aulici Romani*, the Mitre hunters, the *Curiali*, the *Mozzorecchi*, and all the *Pande-*
monium of the Roman Court, Belling had the precaution to take it chiefly from a printed *Declaration*, which had been adopted by the Catholics of England, and in their behalf presented to Parliament in 1640.—This he found in a book written by *Mr. Cressy*, an English Benedictine, who, from being *Protes-*
tant Dean of Leighlin in Ireland, had become Catholic, and having stated his reasons in a book intitled *Exomologesis*, which he printed at Paris, inserted in that book the above *De-*
claration p. 76, &c.

3. Belling took care also to inform the Irish Catholics, that their Remonstrance differed in nothing from another against the Pope's pretended deposing power, which was presented to Sir T. Fairfax by seven English Catholic Peers, —*Winchester, Brudenell, Petre, Teinham, Powiss, W. Montagu*—and by twenty-seven Catholic Esquires—*E. Brudenell, W. Blunt, H. Bedingfield, F. Howard, T. Gascoigne, F. Mannock, J. Arundell, F. Slaughter, F. Petre, W. Arundell, W. Havington, E. Smith, R. Hennage, J. Webb, J. Yates, T. Gage, E. Thorold, N. Crispe, I. Chapperline, A. Monson, R. Cotton, E. Plowden, J. Tasburghc, G. Pulton, G. Fortescue, J. Chamberline, H. Bedingfielde.**

4. The Irish Remonstrance being immediately and unanimously adopted, it was entrusted to Lord *Fingal*, to be delivered by him to Peter Walsh, in London, who had it signed by the Rt. Rev. *Oliver Darcey* Bishop of Dro-

* An account of this singular English Document, which is not generally known, shall be given in the sequel,

more, and by twenty-four expatriated Irish Priests, who had fled thither in disguise from the persecution raised against them at home.

5. There were others however, four or five, who *excused themselves*, refusing to sign “*from the awe of the Court of Rome, and their dependencies thence, and their titular pretensions continued there evermore.*”*

In vain did Walsh indignantly upbraid them with this vile, dastardly, sycophant desertion from the *genuine* interests of their Country and their Religion!—In vain did he remind them that so much affliction at home, and their exile abroad, for so many years, during the usurpation, ought to have elevated them above the little courtly intrigues, and pitiful considerations of this world to think of a better!—In vain did he ask them to shew in what the *Remonstrance* was erroneous or uncatholic; or to what it bound them, more than they were in conscience bound to, by all the *Laws* of God and Man, even if no such Remonstrance ex-

* Hist. of the Remonstr. Lond. fol. 1674, fol. 10.

isted.—They *excused themselves*, on pretence of *inconvenience* and *inexpediency*; and they submitted to the disgrace of acknowledging that *nothing could be shewn in the Remonstrance repugnant to Catholicity*; but yet—they must *beg to be excused!* *

Unfortunate men! You have appeared long ere now, before the awful tribunal of your Maker—and I judge you not—for with *him* there is mercy, and plentiful redemption—and perhaps your last breaths wafted prayers to heaven for forgiveness!—But I am free to observe that those very men were chiefly of the regular orders. They were *Friars*, who had dedicated themselves to the strictest observance of unerring rectitude, to the uncomfortable cowl, to the silent cloister, to the midnight lamp, to the vow of poverty and humility, to contempt of the pomps and vanities of this world—and now—all these engagements vanished before the distant prospect of a Mitre, a

* Ibid, and *Lynch's Alithinol*.

Parish, an Abbey, a Priory, a Guardianship!—
 Alas! such is the nature of man! Who could
 be a Vicar General and lift up a finger against
 the Court of Rome?—Unfortunate men! They
 had fled from persecution at home—and they
 had not courage to resist it abroad!

6. There are who would *spill the last drop of their blood*, to maintain a point of pride, or of vague and undefined opinion, because they would be honoured by their faction with Mitres, or as Martyrs! but they would not move a finger, in favour of oppressed truth or innocence, within the pale of their own Church, because it would expose them to the frown of a Courtier, and would not be attended either with present, or with *posthumous renown*! Nay, they would oppress both truth and innocence, to maintain an usurped dominion, to which *they know* that they are not entitled, either by their virtues, or their learning, and which they equally well *know* to be forbidden, sternly forbidden, by the most sacred laws of their Church! Yes! this they will do by the most profligate of

all means, the most foul and atrocious calumnies!* Such is the nature of man!—We hover

* Thus, for instance, the *honest* V. B. of Castabala, finding that he cannot refute *Columbanus*, endeavours, by the most impudent falsehoods, *invented by himself*, to blacken a character which stands in his way, and to level it down to the condition of his own! Guilty of a.....which no Layman of common education would venture upon, he *dares* to assert that I *stole my Grandfathers MSS. and sold them*; an assertion which *one of the first men in England knows to be false*—that I canvassed the Chapter of Elphin for promotion to that Diocese; an assertion which *every man of that Chapter* knows to be false—that I *repeatedly wrote* to a Senior Metropolitan of Ireland, whom he does not mention, to beg his interest, for my promotion to that See; an assertion which I *defy him*, or any Metropolitan to prove, and which I solemnly declare to be *false*, as I have no correspondence, and *never had*, with any Irish Metropolitan, except *Doctor Troy*, to whom I never wrote any other letter on that subject, save that which I mention, as he *well knows*, in *Columbanus* No. iii, p. 1.

The *honesty* of the V. B. of Castabala, may be inferred, from the use he makes of a printed hand bill, which *he knows* that I rejected the moment I saw it, as stated *Columbanus* No. iii, p. 2, &c. He *asserts* that he was the first who ever procured for me an Ecclesiastical Commission in England, and that he interfered between me and the late Doctor French. Now I most solemnly declare to the great God, on my eternal lot in another life, that I never derived any Commission from him, never applied to him for any, never knew or heard of any such before, and that I would never take any under such a man; and as

round the borders of eternity, looking towards it, as Moses did towards *the land of Promise!*

But—hold, good reader—this is an awful subject: let us not carry our anger into consecrated ground—I was relating the history of the Irish Remonstrance.

7. “The D. of Ormond knew, says Curry,
 “that, as that Remonstrance was censured by
 “some *Ministers of the Court of Rome*, it
 “would be hardly possible to prevail on such
 “of the Irish Clergy as had *expectations* from
 “that Court, to subscribe it.—But the Irish
 “Nobility and Gentry were not so scrupulous
 “in this respect; for in order to convince the
 “D. of Ormond that the refusal of any number
 “of their Clergy, should be no hindrance to
 “their subscribing, they assembled at Dublin
 “at Lord Clanrickard’s house, and there unan-
 “imously subscribed.” *

to any interference of his between me and Doctor French, I utterly disown it, declaring with equal solemnity, that I never heard a word of it before!

* Civil Wars, c. 12. 4to. p. 293.—Compare Walsh’s *more*

All this is perfectly true—but Curry is one of those writers who passes over the order of events, omits many important circumstances, and is no slave to chronology.

8. Before this meeting at Lord Clanrickard's, the Irish Nobility and Gentry, many of whom had gone to reside in London after the Restoration, had several meetings on that subject, with the Catholics of England, and having, after various debates, throughout a period of *eight weeks*, thoroughly agreed with them in the Catholicity of the *Remonstrance*, they came to a final determination that no menaces of censures, no excommunications, no *spiritual* swaggering, should deter them from signing it; and that no Vicar Apostolic should *ever* induce them to retract.

When it was signed, they had it presented to the King, by a special Committee of their own, with old Lord *Tirconnel* at their head. The King received it most graciously, and, returning the

ample account, London 1662, with Caron's *Loyalty Asserted*, and his *Remonstrance*, and *Life*, published by Walsh, Lond. 1684.

original, which was signed by 97 of the most respectable Catholics of Ireland, to Lord Tircconnel, to be preserved by him, together with that which Walsh had procured to be signed by the Clergy, his Majesty ordered fair copies of both to be left with himself.

9. Encouraged by this gracious reception, they wrote to their friends in Ireland, that there was every prospect of toleration, were the Remonstrance but more generally signed ; and the objects of the *subsequent* Dublin meeting, mentioned by Curry, were, *first*, to procure the signatures of those who had not signed hitherto ; and *secondly*, to refute the calumnies of the *Knaves* of that day, who pressing our *fools* into their service, imputed the signatures in London, to the intrigues of *heretical* Walsh,*

* When Walsh's *more ample account* was translated into Latin and Italian, for the examination of Roman Cardinals, the person whom they employed to refute it, was *Padre Macedo*, a Portugese Exjesuite and *Spy*, who, for *reasons best known to the Court of Rome*, resided in London during the Usurpation, panegyricized the Usurper in a *Latin Poem*, in Hexameters of no ordinary merit, fled to Rome on the Restoration of the King, and lived and *was cherished there* during

asserting, as usual, that no Catholic Nobleman would have signed this *Remonstrance*, if his piety had not been taken by surprise !

10. In order to confound this hypocritical cry, the Irish Nobility and Gentry, who assembled at Lord Clanrickard's, declared that they signed the *Remonstrance*, uninfluenced by

the remainder of his life. He and *De'Vecchiis*, were the first who called Walsh a heretic. How justly I leave to those who are acquainted with Lord Castlehaven's Memoirs, p. 127, Curry's Civil Wars, 4to. p. 291—2—3—4; and above all, I refer to his *more ample account*, and his *Causa Valesiana*, London 1684. Read it ye Sycophants—and *blush*—if any such ruin of expiring virtue as a *blush* remains.

The imputations against Walsh by the *Castabulas* of his own Communion, and their excommunicating him *by name*, induced *Fiach O'Tool*, an Irish Fanatick, to way-lay him in the forest of *Glennmalira* ; and several Protestants believed, on the authority of those *Castabalas*, that Walsh had renounced the Catholic faith. Amongst those Protestants I am sorry to find the name of our learned Countryman *Dodwell*, one of the brightest ornaments of the Irish nation. See his *Considerations* on the Irish *Remonstrance*, London 1675, the object of which is to shew that the Kings of England have more reason to fear the foreign influenced Irish, than the Kings of France to fear the foreign influenced French, considering the Pope's *claims* to the dominion of Ireland. See also *Dodwell's Life* by Brokesby, Lond. 1715, p. 42.

all their own crimes and treasons at the door of the D. of Ormond, one of the most heroick, one of the most loyal and honourable our native Country ever produced.

Aware of the pretended *spiritual* power which the foreign influenced Bishops exerted over the ignorant mass of our people during the war; fearing that they would avail themselves of the *previous* signatures of the Irish Gentry, as an *excuse* for not signing the Remonstrance, since they, who ought to be the first to sign, were not *first applied to*, knowing also that they had already alleged as a pretext for not signing, the impossibility of their assembling in Council, a pretext which he expected, with the King's consent, to remove, Ormond suspended for a time the forwarding of these letters, and applied to the King for permission, or at least connivance, that a National Council should be held in Dublin, where the *deposing* doctrines might be discussed, and the Remonstrance adopted, as an everlasting *Test* of the allegiance of the Irish nation !

13. He well knew that the lower orders of

Irish, are infected by a vitiated taste for every thing that is out of the ordinary course, and the common experience of men; that a mysterious *Castabala*.....will be attended to by them with greater faith, than the most obvious and natural representation; that a designer who means to mislead them, has only to tell some strange thing, which they can only half comprehend; that they like to gaze at some visionary gleam, half light, half darkness, half pleasing, half terrible; the ghosts of *Rath-Cruachan*; the midnight footsteps of a something invisible; the shriek of a spirit in a fog; the scream of the *Ban-shee* of O'Connor Dun!—He therefore withheld for a season that which, at a future period, could be brought forward with incalculable advantage, for the benefit of his unfortunate Countrymen.

14. Meantime the letters of the foreign influenced, which conveyed to Rome accounts of these transactions, expatiated on the growing resistance of the Irish to the maxims, and to the influence of the Roman Court. They stated that some copies of the above letter, p.

154, had been handed about; that 200 of the most leading Catholics of the County and Town of Wexford had signed the Remonstrance; that their signatures had been forwarded with an Address to the Throne; and that if the most efficacious remedies were not speedily applied, their example would be followed by the whole Kingdom.

The Irish Loyal Remonstrance condemned by the foreign influenced Bishops.

15. It might be supposed, that the first duty of a spiritual superior towards a fallen brother, is that of charitable admonition—"Brethren," says S. Paul, if any man be surprised in any crime, do you who are governed by the spirit of God, *instruct him with lenity*, considering that you yourselves may be tempted.—There are some duties which require the courage of a Martyr; others the learning of a Jerom; others the eloquence of a Chrysostom; but the Scriptures inform us, that spiritual admonition demands the humility of the Lamb of God; that

otherwise the arms of God may be profaned by human intemperance ; and that the Church has recourse to censures only in the last extremity, and after private, charitable, and reiterated admonitions have failed.

But what was the conduct of the Castabalas of those days?—Alas! my Countrymen—exactly that which is now pursued by the Castabalas of ours.—Their first idea was to overwhelm all inquiry by censures ; to astonish the minds of the vulgar, by hard words and technical mysteriousness ; to confound and to overpower our Gentry, by pointing them out to the Rabble as objects of excommunication !—Their next was dexterously to insinuate that so many Noblemen, who had suffered so much for their Religion heretofore, could not surely be guilty of such foul prevarication, if they had not been seduced by false brethren of the second order of the Clergy, *Wolves in sheep's clothing*, who must be excluded from the fold, lest they should proceed further to infect the flock.—

The Nuncio at Brussels, went so far as to give to these Ecclesiasticks of the second order, the

nickname of *Velesian Heretics*, in hopes of detaching them from *Walsh*, (Valesius) and he summoned them to appear before him as such in Flanders, and to be sent into exile to Spain and Italy, where they should be tried by the Inquisition!

He added, that the Remonstrance contained damnable doctrines, which were condemned by two successive Pontiffs, Paul V. and Innocent X, when King James proposed his oath of allegiance in 1606;* he declared in a letter to the Rev. Bondaventure, alias, *Flan Mac Bruodin*,† dated Brussels Octob. 2, 1663, that this infamous heretical Remonstrance will injure the Church *more than any former persecution*—"quam quævis anteacta Hæreticorum

* Why was this oath condemned? I defy any Catholic to find any thing in it repugnant to his Religion.—Inquire my Countrymen—Inquire.

† Not to be confounded with his relative *Antonius Bruodinus*, who published several Theological works at Prague in 1663, 1664, and 1668, nor with *Tadhg mac Daire mc Bruodin*, an Irish Poet of the same period, whose original compositions in the Irish language are extant in the Stowe Library. See Columbanus No. ii, p. 32.

“persecutio;” and exhorted the Irish to Martyrdom rather than, by signing such a damnable Document, to apostatize !

16. *Here* then was Ormod on one side, trying to avail himself of the good sense, and *there* were the Rinuccini Bishops on the other, availing themselves of the *nonsense* of the Irish nation; and that too, at a time when our hereditary properties, our ancient estates, the most ancient perhaps in the world, depended on the Act of Settlement !

Gracious Heaven !—Must I be compelled to state, with shame and anguish, that it was an unequal contest; that the foreign influenced Bishops knew the temper of which the Irish rabble were composed; that the stoutest hearts, whom no sword could conquer, and no danger could appal, trembled before an Episcopal Censure, whether just or unjust; and that with such stuff to work upon, every thing could be carried, and was carried, against the dearest interests, the properties, and the genuine Religion of our honest Ancestors, by an infamous excommunication?

17. Scared by censures, overawed by menaces,

threatened with deprivations, in many instances deprived of their livings, expelled from their Country, and driven to hide themselves in holes and corners in London, or imprisoned by breach of faith in Foreign Countries, as shall be seen in the sequel, the second order of our Clergy gradually shrunk from a contest, in which they were not convinced by argument, but overwhelmed by power; their rights, their independence, their noble fortitude, without which Religion is often nothing better than hypocrisy, sunk into a chasm, which the deaths of a *Lynch*, a *Walsh*, a *Carron*, have caused in our history; and the officiating Clergy feel the shock to this day! Methinks however that the ghosts of these great and good men, occasionally beckon to the genius of their Country; and that calling upon us, by all that we owe them for their Christian fortitude, they summon us from the lethargy in which we so fatally repose, to vindicate their memories, against the atrocious calumnies of the ignorant, the ungrateful, the unprincipled, and the hypocritical revilers of their names—

“*Exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor.*”

18. Such was the fate of the Irish Clergy ! But the Nobility and Gentry were not so easily subdued.—Mindful of their imprisonment in 1646, and of the many indignities offered to them by the Rinuccini Crew ever after, they and the Catholic Barristers rose as one man against the *Clerico-Political* faction of their times; and the aspect of those times was so dark and lowering, that the most daring of the Roman Courtiers themselves began to be apprehensive of the result. For know, my Countrymen, that the *property* of Catholic Ireland was then at stake. The *Act of Settlement* was yet in agitation. The favourable issue of that great question, depended on the proofs of the loyalty of our Gentry, in despite of foreign intrigues; and the strongest evidence of that loyalty rested on the cheerful subscription of the *Remonstrance*, and the hearty concurrence of our people, with the tried loyalty of such men as an *Ormond*, a *Clanrickard*, a *Castlehaven*, and a *Fingal*. *

* The Committee for settling the respective interests of Ireland, according to the King's Declaration of Nov. 30, 1660,

The Cromwellian adventurers, aware of the great importance that was attached to such evidence as I allude to, were now straining every nerve to misrepresent the loyalty of the Irish Gentry, by numerous pamphlets day after day. Sham plots were invented, which are noticed with honest indignation by Carte;* and because some Gentlemen took possession of their properties at the restoration, without awaiting the due forms of law, the English Parliament, prejudiced as they were at that time, easily swallowed all accounts of a new rebellion, and obtained a persecuting Proclamation against them, which being dated June 1, 1660, was almost the first Irish act of Charles's inauspicious and profligate reign.†

19. Englishmen—it is impossible to state the

was not appointed until May 25, 1661. The *Remonstrance* was first printed Lond. 3d Feb. 1661 old stile, as in Walsh's Hist. p. 91.—The Nuncio's Censure is dated by Commission from the Pope, Brussels July 21, 1662.—I wish to be accurate in dates, for a genuine account of the *motives* of men at this period, depends in a very great degree upon *times* and circumstances.

* Ormond vol. 2, p. 223, and again 231.

† He was proclaimed in Dublin May 14, 1660.

hardships to which the Irish were exposed at this period, from the conduct of the Roman Courtiers, without adverting to the conduct of your ancestors towards them; and however I might wish individually, from my knowledge of the present generous liberality of the English nation, to consign these matters to eternal oblivion, the duty of an Historian is inexorable. We must speak the truth—“*ne quid falsi dicere*
“*audeat ne quid veri non audeat.*”

Your ancestors calumniated ours for the purpose of forfeitures; and the Roman Courtiers supported their calumnies, by forcing upon us infamous doctrines of Papal *deposing* power, and uncanonical excommunications. The former coveted our estates; the latter coveted *unbounded* dominion over our minds, by which *temporal* power and influence might be *ultimately* obtained. The former enslaved our bodies; the latter established a *temporal* sceptre, and a *leaden empire*, which they nicknamed *spiritual jurisdiction*, over our understandings.

When asked to define precisely how far their *spiritual* power extended, they dexterously

evaded an answer. It was a *holy* word they said, which might be profaned by such daring inquiries;—they were solicitous not that it should be explained, but that it should be *obeyed*. When informed that this sort of obedience had caused the conquest of the Country, by the impious arms of the Fanaticks, they replied “that blessed were they who fell.” How much property might have been lost, was not a matter in which they were *very immediately* concerned, for they had no posterity to look to, and no property to lose; it was indeed an object of regret—but what was that when compared with the holy crown of Martyrdom, or even with the glory of posthumous renown!—Walsh observed that it was not the *bitterness of punishment* that conferred the crown of Martyrdom, but the *sanc-tity of the cause* for which Martyrs suffered, “non poena, sed causa,” as Pope Gregory the Great had observed long before.—They replied that Walsh was a profane fellow—a heretic—they excommunicated him; they declared him a devil; Religion was made an engine of oppression; the Sacraments were *unjustly* denied

him; and they who talked of Martyrdom with so much piety, became the most horrible of all persecutors; for the Martyrdom of the spirit is the most painful of all; I should rather be deprived of any worldly advantage, than of the benefit of the Sacraments, and the advantages of Christianity.

20. Whilst the *Saints* of foreign *Courts* were thus preaching Martyrdom for *their own maxims* of uncontrollable power, the Catholic Gentry were endeavouring to render themselves worthy of being included in the *Act of Oblivion* and *Indemnity*, by opposite and *genuine* Catholic maxims of *sincere* loyalty and attachment to the State.—*Hear me Countrymen—*

Before the rebellion broke out in 1641, the Protestant landed property in Ireland, consisted only of 2,400,000 acres, Irish measure, of profitable land; the remaining 5,000,000 belonged to the Catholics. In 1653, the rebellion was publicly declared at an end, and then of the Catholic property nothing remained “but about 100,000 acres, to such

“ Catholics as had *proved their constant good*
 “ *affection to the British interest*, and about
 “ 700,000 acres in Connacht and Clare, to such
 “ Catholics as *proved their qualifications by the*
 “ *Commissioners at Loch-rea*, pursuant to the
 “ Decrees of the Commissioners at *Athlone*.”*

21. Thus stood the Catholic property of Ireland down to the Restoration in 1660 !

Of five millions of profitable acres, not much more than half a million profitable remained to the ancient Catholic proprietors, the aboriginal inhabitants of our native land !

Involved thus in calamities, such as at no former period of our history had visited our unhappy Island, it may well be supposed, and it is hardly necessary to relate, that never were the expectations of our Ancestors more sanguine, never were their exultations more

* See this survey fairly stated, in a Pamphlet intitled
 “ State of the Papist and Protestant properties in Ireland,
 “ in 1641, 1653, and 1662.” London printed 1689, and presented to the King.

loud, or more sincere, never was their enthusiasm for the Monarchy sublimed to such a degree as at the Restoration.*

Ormond saw the advantage that might be derived from these auspicious circumstances, to establish on a permanent foundation the tranquility and prosperity of his Country. Never was there a man better inclined, or better qualified for such a task. Intimately acquainted with all the leading men of his time, aware of the views, and informed of the principles of each, there has been only one Viceroy since his time, whose conciliating manners, united with a thorough insight into the designs of parties, at home and abroad, enabled him equally, *and perhaps more permanently*, to amalgamate the jarring interests of Irishmen, so as to render them all subservient to one great end, the prosperity of the Empire.

The evil genius of our Country has succeeded in thwarting the profound and generous intentions of both; and therefore the Catholics

* See O'Flahertie's and Lynch's Dedications.

of Ireland hang to this day a millstone round the neck of the Constitution.

Both have been calumniated, because none but a great man deserves the honour of misrepresentation. Others are sheltered by their own insignificance, from that envy which awaits merit, and that malice which persecutes the great even to the grave. To one of these great and honourable men I have already alluded.* Respect arrests the pen of admiration from mentioning his name, because it is no ordinary talent that can do justice to such a character; and he is one of those who looks more to the approbation of his own conscience, than to the idle eloquence of vulgar panegyric; nor is the day yet arrived when justice may be done to his views for our native Country, without any suspicion of flattery, or any hope from adulation.† Suffice it for the present to

* See the Conclusion of the first part of this *Address*.

† “Duplici ex causa utilius et hominum magis *memoriæ* laudem dare quam vitæ, ut illo potissimum tempore merita sanctitatis extollas, quando nec laudantem adulatio movet nec laudatum tentet elatio.” S. Maximi Homil 59.

say that both these great men saw the Catholics of Ireland in the same light, with respect to the monarchy on one side, and the democracy on the other, as Tacitus saw the whole Island with respect to the two most powerful arms of the Roman Empire.* They considered them as placed midway between both; connecting the opposite principles of both by an intermediate link, resembling a centripetal force, which counteracted the centrifugal of the other two, and so establishing a balance of power, which might be gradually improved in strength, for the better preservation of all.

Ormond was indeed accused, as I have already observed, of the most Machiavellian policy and treachery towards the Catholics; but consider Countrymen who were his accusers—what he had to gain by the extirpation of his own tenantry and his own friends; how eagerly he desired the preservation of Episco-

* “Hibernia medio inter Hispaniam et Britanniam sita
 “valentissimam Imperii partem *magnis* invicem usibus mis-
 “cuisse.” Tacit. in Vita Agricolæ.

pacy; how well he knew that that object could not be attained in Ireland if the Catholics were destroyed. See what I have already said upon this subject,* and compare the horrible narrative to which I indignantly proceed.

Conduct and designs of Primate Reily.

22. At the period of the Restoration, when our Nobility and Gentry were looking with enthusiastic hopes to the gratitude of the royal family, for which the best blood of the nation had flown, two men, the greatest minions of the Roman Court then in the British Islands, clandestinely disappeared! *Edmund Reily* the Catholic Primate of Ardmagh, and Father *Macedo* the Portuguese Exjesuite already mentioned, the panegyrist of Cromwell, and the calumniator of our Country.

When Primate Reily discovered that the restoration was intended, says Carte, “he cast
“out *desperate speeches* against his Majesty’s
“person, and was very active in doing him all

* See this *Historical Address*, part i, p.

“ the injury he could, instigating the common
 “ Irish against him.”*

Let us inquire who this Primate Reily was? What intitled him to the highest office the Court of Rome could confer? Was he descended from the noble family of the *O'Reilies* of Cavan, or of Ballinloch? did that hereditary pride of Ancestry, which is often a substitute for solid virtue, protect him from the practices of a villain?

Countrymen—it is necessary that you should know how to distinguish your real friends, and your *genuine* Religion, from the treacherous foreign influenced enemies, who mislead you under the disguise of the one, and from infamous foreign maxims which endanger your Country by a profanation of the other.

23. Primate Reily was of an obscure family near Dublin; how, or where he passed the first thirty years of his life it is vain to inquire; but from being a Parish Priest in the Diocese

* Carte's Orm. v. 2, p. 204.—Compare his irresistible proofs in vol. 3, EE. 400, 404, 407, with this narrative.

of Dublin, his incapacity compelled him to return to the University of Louvain in 1633. There he passed some time, studying *cases of conscience under the Jesuites*;* and, being possessed of no small share of low cunning, for there are few persons, however insignificant or contemptible, and unqualified to do any good by their virtues, who are not capable of infinite mischief by their duplicity, their treachery, and their crimes, he insinuated himself into the favour of one of the best of men, Father *Thomas Fleming*, eldest son of *the Fleming*, Baron of Slane, who had exchanged his Barony for a Cloyster, and was one of the most venerable men our Country ever possessed.†

From this most respectable old man he obtained a recommendation to the Rev. Thomas Fleming, then Archbishop of Dublin, Uncle to the former, who appointed him Vicar Gene-

* Hist. of the Remonstr. fol. 608.

† To the Slane family we are indebted also for a man whom I believe, with the great Mabillon, to be a Saint in heaven; the Rev. *Patrick Fleming*, whose excellent edition of the works of *Columbanus* was published Louvain 1667.

ral of Dublin a little before the rebellion broke out in 1641. The Archbishop was soon after elected one of the supreme Council of Kilkenny; and Reily had, in his absence, the administration of his See, the greatest part of which lay within the Irish Quarters, entirely under his spiritual and temporal command.

To his employer he remitted just as much of the emoluments as he pleased; and tasting of the sweets of Church livings, and feeling some personal advantages from the rebellion, he eagerly joined in every calumny against Ormond, every uproar against Cessations of hostilities with heretics, and every *Religious cry* against peace with the King!

24. When that vain fool the Earl of Antrim opposed Ormond through pique, in 1648, because he himself was not appointed Lord Lieutenant, Reily was the agent who concerted the confederacy between him, *Jones*, and *Owen Roe*; and yet, maintaining secret intelligence with the foreign influenced party, he had the address to retain his lucrative office of Vicar General! He was the person who betrayed the royal

camp at *Rathmines*, July 27, 1649; and yet he was not deprived of his office until a letter, in his own hand, which he had written for Owen Roe, who signed it, to Jones's brother, was intercepted, and the hand writing proved, and the spy who carried it hanged at Kilkenny for high treason against the State.*

As soon as O'Nial died, † and the Ulster army came in upon special capitulation to join the Royalists, he again prevailed upon the foreign influenced Bishops, whom the loyal Catholics wished at that time to conciliate, to have himself reappointed in 1650.

Reinstated by the connivance of the loyal Catholics, this acquitted felon, adhering to the Nuncio's faction, sat and voted in the Synod which was held by that faction in the forest of Glenmalura, where poor Walsh was excommunicated, in 1652.

25. In 1653, hoping that his former activity

* Hist. of the Remonstr. p. 609.

† Owen Roe died at the Castle of Clochuachter in Cavan, Nov. 6, 1649, and was interred in the old Abbey of Cavan. Orig. Papers Desid. Curios. Dubl. 1772, p. 521.

in promoting the regicide peace between *Owen Roe* and Jones, and in betraying the royal camp at Rathmines, would procure him favour from the Puritans, he came, with some of the Nuncio's favourite Ulster Creaghts, to reside within the *Parliament* line of communication, and venturing into the Courts of justice in Dublin, to prosecute a Catholic Gentleman of the O'Tools, of his own Diocese, he was recognised as an incendiary, a principal leader in firing the black castle of Wicklow, and consequently in murdering its inhabitants.

Instantly taken up, he was tried for his life; but, in consideration of former *services to the Parliament*, of which some instances shall be given in the sequel, and for betraying the royal camp at Rathmines, which he had the impudence to allege *in his defence*, he was only
 “ banished, or licensed to quit the Kingdom;
 “ as he soon after did, with the hatred and ex-
 “ clamations of all sorts of Royalists, Protes-
 “ tant and Catholic, even of his own Diocese.”*

26. I have already related that this infam-

* Ibid fol. 699, and Carte's Orm, vol. 2, p. 70,

mous Castabala was one of the three Bishops who remained in Ireland down to the Restoration; and one of those who signed the Instrument which appointed for agent to the Irish Clergy, in 1660, that very Walsh, whom he had excommunicated in the forest of Glenmalura in 1652!—Yes, Countrymen—on minute inquiry you will find me accurate.—You have yet to learn the tricks of the foreign influenced; your honourable souls are not aware that a Clergyman Politician is the most out of order, the most monstrous of all combinations!—You have yet to learn how this sycophant became Primate of Ireland!

27. It is painful to acknowledge it, but no words were more frequently on the lips of the Castabalas of those days than *loyalty, sincerity*, and the like.—Even the Nuncio *De Vecchiis* closed his censure against the loyal Remonstrance with these words—“His Holiness does not mean by this censure, to prevent the Irish from professing loyalty to their King sincerely and with all their hearts—on the contrary he exhorts them so to do, *provided*

“ it be *that sort of allegiance* which is consistent with their Religion.”*—But now, let us look to their *conduct*, and judge for ourselves.

At this time the old Primate, *Hugh O'Reily*, died, and the traitor *Edmund* was, through the *private* mediation of Rinuccini's Secretary, *Dionysius Massarius*, appointed his Successor, as the fittest person to manage the intrigues of the Roman Court!

Consecrated *privately* in the Jesuit's Vestry at Brussels, he returned to Calais, where he was introduced by the Bishop of *Dromore*, to *Cardinal Mazarine*, who gave him money, and commendatory letters to persons of high consideration in London; and arriving in that Metropolis in 1658, he astonished all the Irish there, by informing them that he was Primate of Ireland!

28. In London he had *private* conferences with Cromwell's Secretary, *Thurlow*, and with

* “ Non intendit Catholicos a præstanda Regi suo sincere et ex animo *fidelitate illa*, quæ Religionem committatur.” See the Original in the Hist. of the Remonstr. p. 16, and 517.

Abbe Crelly; and here I must refer to p. 145, of these sheets, where I mention that scandalous Catholic Address which was presented to *Fairfax* in 1649.

During his stay in London, he boasted, at a public dinner, that he had declined the empty honour of an introduction to the King at Brussels; that he never did favour his cause, or his two Brothers, or Ormond's, and *never would*; and that to the contrivances of his party, meaning the foreign influenced Bishops, with *Owen Roe O'Nial*, Cromwell owed the speedy conquest of the Irish nation! *

29. He even issued orders under his seal to the Clergy of Armagh, to pray for the *Protector's* prosperity; and *he, Macedo, Crelly, Geoghagan*, and *French* of Ferns, were the principal agents of the Roman Court, in carrying on a secret negociation with Cromwell against the Royal Family, by which Cromwell should be flattered and cajoled, the Royal Family excluded, and the foreign influenced

* This was not an empty boast, as shall be seen anon.

faction be the protected agents of a *spiritual* power, which should, on some future day, establish the temporal dominion of Rome!—All I have to ask of those who may not be inclined to believe this tale of iniquity is, that they will *hear me out*.

30. Whilst this vile intriguer, was thus basking in regicide sunshine, in all his conferences with Irish Catholics, he insisted on the absolute necessity of their being *absolved from the censures of Rinuccini*!—--Walsh, who well knew in what the devotion of Roman Courtiers consisted, and how their principles veered with every wind that blew fair for pre-ferment, said one day to a friend—“Reily
“begins to pay me Court—depend upon it he
“is at something—I should not wonder if he
“come to prayers in my room, though he holds
“me excommunicated”—Pugh—Pugh—said his friend, “he would as soon go to Crom-
“well’s. He calls you a HERETIC.”

Walsh however was perfectly right—Reily discovered that he was intimate with a *Mr. Knightly*, who was then *Archpriest*, or Dean,

of the Chapter of the English Clergy, and wishing to exercise Episcopal Jurisdiction in London, by way of shewing the regicide government that he was the Pope of the British Islands, a jurisdiction which he could not exercise without the permission of *Knightly*, who had pointedly refused it, he hoped to obtain it through Walsh, whom *Knightly* esteemed.

31. At that time Walsh lived in great obscurity; but he had contrived by subscriptions to procure lodgings, where a large garret afforded room for the expatriated Irish to attend divine service, which he performed for them on Sundays, as clandestinely as possible. Reily's cunning suggested to him a plan for admittance to this garret, by intimating to Walsh that the English Catholic Clergy were not friendly to the Irish; that he hardly knew where to celebrate Mass on Sundays; that he would gladly confirm such Irish Children as should be found in London, at Walsh's lodgings, if he could obtain *Knightly's* permission; and that he would deem it a favour, if Walsh would use his influence with *Knightly* for that pious design.

32. Possessed of a heart as generous and religious as his head was sound, Walsh complied. But was he yet aware of the *real* object which *Reily* thus covered with the mantle of Religion? No—not until after frequently attending in his room, the Primate, thanking him for his past civilities, said that he wished to shew his gratitude by procuring him *some favour from Rome*.

Walsh smiling, said he was very welcome to come, as often as he chose, to his room—but that he had no favour to ask.—My dear friend, said the other—could not *I absolve you from the censures of Nuncio Rinuccini?*

Walsh's indignation was now on the verge of a precipice—but an explosion of invective would have prevented his coming at the ulterior designs of an intriguer, who was playing into the hands of Cromwell with one hand, and maintaining the infamous censures of the Roman Court with the other; and so, restraining his passion, he confined himself to these few words—“*You know in your heart—Sir—*” that “*these censures signify nothing.*”

33. There was nothing that *Reily* more eagerly coveted, than the glory of reducing all the Irish Clergy, who opposed these censures, to unqualified submission!—It was not impossible, nay, he had a strong presentiment, that, if the projects he had in contemplation could be accomplished, he should be appointed Cardinal, as Wolsey was, without any respect to the meanness of his origin, or the penury of his talents, or the vulgarity of his attainments. He possessed cunning, he could put on a treacherous smile, he could play the hypocrite, he could disguise worldly projects under the mask of Religion, and this was the great accomplishment, the *sine qua non* of an *Aulicus Romanus*,—“*Volto sciolto—pensieri stretti*,”—and he called this *prudence*; and hoped that, if he could succeed in corrupting Walsh, he could not but succeed in overwhelming all the second order of the Irish Clergy, who had opposed the foreign interest hitherto.

Finding however that he could not corrupt such a Clergyman as Walsh, and much less

defeat him in argument, he resolved to effect by profanation and fraud, what it was impossible to effect by candour and Religion!

34. No man is aware of what a crime he commits, or what consequences will ensue, or what reproach and scorn he brings upon his Family, his Religion, or his Country, when he makes the first deviation from virtue. Primate *Reily* began with sycophancy.—He suffered those principles of truth and honour which God had planted in his breast, to give way to his intriguing, and his ambition; and he who began a cringing sycophant, ended in sacrilege and profanation.

When you will have read the following narrative, lay your hands on your hearts, my Countrymen, and answer it to God, whether the sacrilegious canting of the foreign influenced, and their daring profanation of holy things, be not as disgraceful to our Country, as it is atrocious in the eye of God; and in the name of that God, and of that Religion for which you have so often bled, and so often

suffered, put a final end, by *honest Episcopal Elections*, to such abominable intrigues.

35. *Walsh profanely absolved by Primate Reily from the Political Censures of the Roman Court—and why—Walsh's own narrative.*

“ Father T. T. one of the Primate's companions, plyed me six
 “ weeks continually, to persuade me to give the Primate a
 “ meeting, to which end he assured and swore to me, that by his
 “ own mediation, the King at Brussels admitted the said Pri-
 “ mate to kiss his hand. Whereupon I yielded, albeit they
 “ understood not my end in doing so, and after, for some weeks
 “ I did the Primate several kindnesses of importance to him at
 “ that time, and, amongst the rest obtained leave for him of
 “ the Arch Priest, my friend Mr. Knightly, to use his Episcopal
 “ function here in England, which the said Knightly had before
 “ in plain terms refused him. He, pretending to requite my
 “ kindness, attempted many times after to persuade me, by
 “ promises of future favour at Rome, to receive an absolution of
 “ the Nuncio's Censures from himself. When he saw that
 “ nothing could move me, at last, upon a day, after he had cele-
 “ brated and confirmed several in my own Chamber, and at my
 “ own Altar, and had also himself heard out my own Mass, as
 “ he often did in the same place before, and when I had done,
 “ and was upon my knees turned to the Altar, giving thanks, as
 “ the manner is after celebration, he suddenly stands up by my
 “ side, lays his hand upon me, and pronounces the words of a
 “ formal absolution from all Censures, sive a jure sive ab

“ homine, sed specialiter a Censuris Illustrissimi I. B. Rinuccini latis in causa Interstitii armorum, &c. *adding presently to myself in English, that he did so of purpose that he might have it to say, and assure others, that he had absolved me.*”
 Hist. of the Remonstr. London 1674, fol. 609 and 610.

36. Walsh indignantly rejected this absolution as a sacrilegious profanation; insisting that no man could be absolved *against his own will*; that the Primate knew well that those censures *signified nothing*; and that this abuse of holy things would, one day or other, draw down on the perpetrators the vengeance of God.

There are certain natural guards against profligacy of assertion, which Providence has kindly planted as sentinels over the hearts of men, like the angel who was stationed with a flaming sword at the gate of Eden, to protect baptismal innocence against the pollution of falsehood, the guilt of perjury, and the meanness of defamation; when once any man has broken down the barriers so erected for his own protection, he is afterwards capable of the worst of crimes. A Castabala will then venture upon falsehoods, which every Layman of com-

mon education would blush to impute, and would tremble to commit, and which every sword would leap from its scabbard to repel.

Primate Reily could now say that he *had absolved Walsh*, and the immediate inference was, that Walsh *had submitted to absolution*; and how then could the Irish Clergy who followed his *wicked* example in resisting the Roman Censures, not follow his *pious* example by a retractation?

Whether this inference was true or false was no concern of Reily's. His object was "*rem—rem—quocumque modo rem.*"—To subdue the second order of the Irish Clergy; to enforce *blind Mahometan* submission to any censure the *Roman Court* might think proper to inflict, was then, as it is to this day, the grand object of the foreign influenced Sycophants, the Mitre hunters, and the *Religious-cry* men of the *Court* of Rome!

Strange inconsistency of error!—Castabalas of the 17th century!—in order to gain over the second order of the Irish Clergy, you gave out that Walsh had *retracted*; that he had sub-

mitted to *Rinuccini's* Censures; and that now a convert, like S. Paul, he would be the most formidable of their enemies.—Castabalas of the 19th! finding that this *lie* did not prosper, you have taken the opposite extreme; and to prevent all imitation of his courage, you give out that he was a *schismatic*, a *heretic*, a *devil*; because with *true piety*, and true Christian fortitude, he refused to comply with infamous censures on one side, and infamous absolutions on another.

37. Reily soon after proceeding to Ireland, made as much use as he could of his absolution.—But the Irish Clergy soon found that Walsh told another story; and the obvious inference was, that, since he still continued to speak and to write, as he always had spoken and written; the Primate's story was *a lie*.

His subsequent conduct was such as awoke the suspicion, and fired the indignation of every man who was attached to the Monarchy or to the Country. For the purpose of continuing in favour with Cromwell, he had frequent private conferences with his Generals, with

Jones, and with his brother *Jones* Bishop of Clogher!—The loyal Irish Catholics forwarded accounts of these proceedings to the Royal Family abroad; and this recalls my narrative to Reily's flight from Ireland at the Restoration.

A little before that event, *Don Stephano de Gamarro*, the Spanish Ambassador in Holland, wrote to inform the Court of Rome, that if Reily did not make his escape, he must suffer death as a traitor; for that his private practices with Thurlow and Jones were known; that the King desired not to spill his blood; and that therefore, to spare him the pain of signing his death warrant, Reily should be recalled to Rome. A dispatch was immediately forwarded to the *honest* Primate to that effect, and he fled the kingdom in 1660.

38. After passing four years in Rome, wishing to be restored to the Primacy, he came to Paris, and wrote the following letter, which I am glad to be able to present to the indignation of my Countrymen, as a specimen of the style, the mind, and the manner of a Castabala.

To his Excellency the D. of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant, &c.

" May it please your Excellency,

*" I am the Publican standing afar off, not daring to
 " lift up mine eyes to the heavens and to your Grace, but knock-
 " ing my breast, humbly pray your Excellency be pleased to be
 " favourable to me, and make me partaker of his Majesty's
 " unparalleled mercies: promising in the sight of God and his
 " Angels, that I will endeavour to comply in all points with his
 " sovereign Majesty's most gracious will, and your Excellency's
 " commands, as far as shall become a modest, faithful, and
 " thankful Subject.—If otherwise who am I? but a worm? the
 " reproach of mankind, the vilitie of the people, a dead dog, a
 " flea, and yet, my gracious Lord,*

" Your Excellency's

Paris,

" Most humble Servant,

August 11, 1665.

" Edmund Ardmack."

Restrain thyself—thou blood of my Ancestors.—Turn away disgusted from this Castabala of the 17th century; abandon him to the horror of Irishmen—and resume the narrative of events, from the departure of Ormond in 1647 to the Revolution.

39. Would to God—my Countrymen—that I could gratify my national pride by a recital which should exalt your's!—but no honest

Historian can perform his duty towards you without confessing the truth.—We shall soon find that from beginnings much less alarming than those which I have already pointed out to you in recent Synods of the two last years, the Castabalas of those days proceeded, under cover of Religion, to perpetrate crimes from which nature shrinks; hunting their unfortunate Countrymen at home and abroad; conjuring up against the most loyal and honourable men that Ireland ever produced, foreign spies, and foreign inquisitors, persecuting them with more inveteracy than ever they were persecuted even by Cromwell; and even when death might be supposed to have levelled all distinctions, to have appeased anger, mollified resentment, blunted every sting, and glutted and satiated every malice, even then petitioning foreign Governments that their own Countrymen, of their own Religion, might be deprived of the rites of Christian interment; that in their last agonies they might be abandoned, even by that ministering hand which decently conceals the writhings and the contortions of



pain—that they should be denied the benefit of Sacraments which have been instituted for the remission of sin, and be left—

Unhouseld, unanointed, unannealed—

No reck'ning made—but sent to their account—

With all their imperfections on their head!

Yes! to be exposed above ground, in all the nakedness of nature; to be mangled by dogs, and devoured by the birds of the air!

Views of the foreign influenced—King James's

Oath of Allegiance why rejected by them—

Character of Ebher Mc Mahon, Bishop of Clogher—and of Curry's History.

40. It is impossible to account for the opposition of the Court of Rome to the *Loyal Remonstrance*, upon any other principles than those which I have already mentioned.—First, the Pope's claim to the dominion of Ireland;*

* When *Mr. Lyons*, yielding to persecution, offered to retract his signature from the *Remonstrance*, in 1669, on condition that he should be allowed to insert the clause "*Salva fidelitate mea Regi in temporalibus*, this clause was rejected by the foreign influenced! *Hist. of the Remonst.* p. 517,

second chapter, the author, enumerating the causes why the Irish are hostile to the English, assigns as the principal,—that the Kings of England had usurped the crown from *the Pope*, by whom it had been conferred by the last of the Irish Kings,—that the Popes had indeed subsequently conferred it on the English Kings, but only as a *feudal tenure*, in obeisance to the See of Rome,—that they always reserved the title of *supreme Sovereign of Ireland to themselves*,—and that no English King ever had dared to arrogate that title, before Henry VIII. rebelled against the See of Rome.*

The joint letter of *Tirone, James Fitz-Thomas, Florence Mc Carty More, and Mac Donach*, addressed to Pope Clement VIII, and

* “ Perche li Re d’ Inghilterra contra ogni ragione e dovere
 “ si hanno intitolato Rè d’ Irlanda, havendo l’ ultimo Rè
 “ nostro, come l’ historie vogliono, resignato il Regno al Papa,
 “ il quale ne diede poi il dominio al Re d’ Inghilterra Hen-
 “ rico II. come a Vassallo di S. Chiesa Romana, intitolandolo
 “ signiore d’ Irlanda, ma riservando sempre il titolo di Re
 “ alla Sedia Apostolica, ne mai è stato Rè d’ Inghilterra che
 “ si chiamasse Rè d’ Irlanda finché Henrico VIII. si ribellasse
 “ contra il Papa.” Slane MSS. No. 2179, Ayscough Catal,
 p. 309.

dated 30 March, 1580, entreats—1st, that none,
 “ shall be appointed to Irish Sees but such as shall
 “ be named by them; 2dly, that the excommu-
 “ nication against the loyal Catholics who
 “ adhered to the Queen, which was fulminated
 “ by Pius V, and repeated by Gregory XIII,
 “ be renewed a third time, to make the greater
 “ impression on such Catholics as wavered
 “ between the Queen and the Pope; and 3dly,
 “ that his Holiness would adopt the most
 “ speedy and efficacious means to preserve *his*
 “ *Kingdom of Ireland*, dependent upon him,
 “ alone next to God, and his *humble Irish*
 “ *subjects*, from falling under the English
 “ yoke.”*

42. Though Queen Mary was a Catholic,
 and a gloomy and persecuting bigot she was,
 whom every Irishman must abhor; yet Paul IV.
 menaced to depose her, because she had dared
 to assume the title of *Queen of Ireland*, without
 his consent! He said that it belonged to *him*

* “ Generatim Sanctitati Vestræ, affectu quo possumus
 “ maximo, *Regnum hoc Vestrum*, a Te solo post Deum depen-
 “ dens, nosque *humiles tuos subditos*,” &c. Pacat. Hib. p. 175.

alone to erect new Kingdoms, or abolish the old; that Ireland was, by human and divine right, the property of the Holy See; that he was the Successor of those who deposed Kings and Emperors; and that no Monarch should pretend to an equality with him!—With his feeble limbs, for now he was about eighty years old, he stamped the boards of the Vatican—

“ *And all Olympus trembled at his nod!*”

The Queen's Ambassadors threw themselves at his feet, and he admitted her title, *on condition only* that it should be assumed from his concession, and that Peter pence, and all the ancient emoluments of Rome should be restored! *

“ *Rome qui dans toutes les temps, dans la paix, dans la guerre,
Veut etre, plait au monde, Maitresse de la terre!*”

43. It has been objected that those times exist no longer; and certainly this attempt to put

* Sandini t. 2, p. 647.—The Irish writers extol him for thus maintaining the *rights of the Holy See*. Mac Geoghag. Hist. d'Irel. Amsterd. 1763. t. 3, p. 409, 427, 428, 439, 548. Bishop Burke's Hibernia Domin. p. 600.—Compare O'Sullivan's Hist. Cathol. fol. 100. Lombardus Commentar. p. 465.

down inquiry, is a proof that the foreign influenced are ashamed to avow openly the conduct which they secretly practise, and the principles which they occasionally profess.*— But if we will dispassionately proceed, and travel down with the stream of time, we shall find these principles, and this practice existing to this moment. Columbanus deems it a Religious duty which he owes to his Country, to tear off the mask; to give Catholicity fair play; to disarm prejudice by separating the gold from the dross; and *to pray that he may be heard*. He despises the imputations of malice, and no insolence shall prevent his speaking truth.

Primate Lombard, who was Pope Clement VIIIth's secretary,† expressly declares, that “the Irish hold themselves bound in *allegiance* “*to the Holy See* as its subjects, not *only in spirituals*, but also *in temporals*.”*

* See above p. 2, 3, 15, 18, 23, 34, 51, 63, 92, 114, to 134.

† He is mentioned as such in Pope Clement VIIIth's Bull, addressed to the Earl of Tirone, and dated Rome, Jan. 20, 1601. “*Ipsū vero Petrum Lombardum quem Nobilitas sua “Oratorem et Negotiorum gestorem constituit apud nos,” &c.*

Am I to be impeached for relating historically, that which an Irish Primate maintained as religious truth, and which he repeatedly boasts of as the greatest glory of the Irish nation? Is Irish history to be destroyed because it is disagreeable to a foreign influenced Vicar? Is it to be made a pander to the lust of dominion, which displays itself in the vulgar brawlings of a Castabala?

44. Let us trace the leading events of the 17th century, as connected with those of our own.—It will be found that the condemnation of James Ist's Oath of Allegiance in 1606, was of a piece with that of the Irish Remonstrance in 1662; that both these condemnations are of one school; that to the same *Political forge*, and not to the Catholic Religion, must be traced the practice, the principles, and the publications of those Tullow and

* “Hiberni sunt addicti *penitus* Imperio sedis Apostolicæ. “Se ac sua omnia, *non in spiritualibus tantum* sed etiam in “*temporalibus* subjectos illi agnoscentes.” Commentaria de Heb. Hibern. Lovanii 1632, p. 115, 241, &c. Dedicated by permission to the Pope!

Dublin Synods, of 1810 and 1811, and of those Castabala Bishops, who are endeavouring, under cover of spiritual power, to *rule the roast* in the British Islands; and that no Englishman quarrels, or can quarrel, with the Catholic Religion properly understood, but only with such foreign maxims, as excited at all times the just jealousy of *every Catholic* as well as of every Protestant State.*

* It will be found, on dispassionate inquiry, that the Penal Laws were enacted not against any one article of the Catholic faith, but “for putting away all *usurped foreign powers and authorities*, and for disburthening the subjects from “divers intolerable charges and exactions, unlawfully taken “by such foreign power and authority,” &c. as stated in the preamble to these laws. They were made, says Harris, not in the least for matters of faith, but to prevent tyranny over the *rights, liberties, and lives* of men. Fiction unmasked, Dublin 1752, p. 12, 13, &c.

When some, under pretence of Religion claimed the crown of Martyrdom, alleging that they suffered for *their faith*, whilst it was notorious that they suffered for exciting tumults, Cecil published a demonstration that Religion had nothing to do in the matter.—The Irish Poems of *Owen O’Duith* on this subject are lost. One of them is quoted by O’Sullivan fol. 92.—“*Cujus aliqua Carmina, acris sane, Hibernice composita in Milerum Casselensem et alios Hæreticos extant.*” Hist. Cathol. fol.

45. I do not admire the character of James ; but it is impossible for any honest man to read his "*Triplici nodo triplex Cuneus*," or Apology for the fair *oath* which he proposed to the Catholics after the gunpowder plot, without

Nothing can be more provoking to an honest mind, than to observe with what vile cunning in some instances, and daring effrontery in others, the foreign influenced writers endeavour to palliate or deny every plot, and every treason committed by themselves or their adherents. It is not my object to go into the proofs.—I refer to a very interesting and scarce work which is now before me, intitled "*A true Relation of the faction begun at the castle of Wisbick, 1591, newly imprinted, 1601.—A Sparing Discoverie, ibid.—Important Considerations, ibid.—Answer to Blackwell, ibid.*"

I recommend this book most heartily to every man who wishes to be informed of the cabals occasioned by foreign influenced intrigues amongst the Catholics after the Reformation. They will there find the difference between a Catholic in *conscience*, and a *Castabala* Catholic.

Mr. Higgons, in his *View of English History*, Hague 1727, p. 253—lays the *Powder Plot* to the intrigues of Cecil, though there is not one fact in all English history more certain than that plot, as related by Hume, and by King James himself in his discourse on the *Powder Plot*. Works fol. London 1616, p. 223. The conspiracy with which Cobham and Raleigh were charged, as well as the *Goury* conspiracy, are involved in mystery ; the *Powder* plot is the *only incontrovertible* treason of James's reign.

acknowledging that he was very far from meaning to persecute their Religion.

I beg leave to refer to his own works published in folio, London 1616, and particularly to that *apology* against the two Bulls of Pope Paul the Vth, and against Bellarmine's Letter to G. Blackwell, the English *Vicar Apostolic* of that period, which censure and condemn that oath as heretical, though it was most evident that there is nothing in it which every Catholic is not *bound in conscience* to swear to, whenever it is proposed by the legitimate authority of the State.*

* I wish my words to be noticed, because I mean *directly* to state, that any Pope or Bishop who condemns as *heretical*, *any oath* which a Catholic is in conscience bound to take, when called upon so to do by his legitimate Sovereign, acting legally, is himself *guilty of heresy*.

Blackwell above mentioned, was *Vicar Apostolic* of England, having all the powers of a Bishop, without being a Bishop, excepting that which no Priest can exercise, namely, that of ordaining Priests and Deacons.—Let those who have ventured to condemn *Columbanus*, for saying with S. Jerom, that there is no difference *jure Divino* between a Priest and a Bishop, *save one*, namely, the *power of ordaining*, answer it to God why they have raised a *Religious cry* against the truth.

46. Yes ! that oath was repeatedly condemned by the Court of Rome, though the King expressly declared in the Latin as well as in the English language,* that he meant nothing more than to distinguish by principles of *civil* allegiance, those Catholics whom he knew to be loyal, and whom he therefore wished to protect, those foreign influenced traitors, who approved of the gunpowder plot ! †

James's moderation after so narrow an escape,

Columbanus repeats the assertion, and adds, that to assert the contrary is heresy. What Jurisdiction has a Bishop over any Priest merely for his being a Bishop ? *not one jot* more than a Priest has when he is ordained.—The former has no Diocese, and no Priest is obliged to obey him.—The latter has no Parish.

* See his *Apologia pro juramento fidelitatis*, Lond. 1609, and his *Triplex Cuneus*, *ibid.*—Nothing is more obvious than that the V. B. of Castabala knows nothing of many of the books to which he refers, as I have noticed in *Columbanus*.

I quote not from the *vague*, and often *false*, quotations of others, but from the originals.

† See his Speech to the Parliament, in his works, p. 503.

“The Test he proposed, says Hume, was very moderate
“since it decided no controverted points between the two
“Religions, and only engaged the persons who took it, to
“abjure the Pope's power of dethroning Kings.” Vol. 6,
Lond. 8vo. 1802, p. 38.

was not agreeable to his subjects. They saw that his heart was a little biassed by the allurements of Rome;—that “ he had been well pleased, says Hume, if the making of some advances could have effected an union with that ancient Church; that he strove *to abate the acrimony of his subjects* against the Religion of their fathers, and that he gave trust and preferment *almost indifferently* to his Catholic and Protestant subjects.” But the ambition of the Roman *Court* to over-rule the Universe, and the intrigues of the foreign influenced, in favour of that design, threw a difficulty in his way which no concession of his could surmount!

47. Nothing perhaps more lamentably discovers the dangerous influence of mistaken notions of Religion artfully inculcated, than the melancholy fact that *Digby*, who was in other respects a man of gentle manners, writing to his wife, after he was condemned to die for the gunpowder plot, says—“ If I had thought there had been *the least sin* in the plot, I would not have been of it for all the

“ world, and no other cause drew me to hazard
 “ my fortune and my life, but zeal for God’s
 “ Religion !” He then expresses his surprise
 that any Catholic should condemn so *laudable*
a design !—And yet good reader, this design
 was nothing less than to blow up King, Lords,
 and Commons ! to destroy both Houses of Par-
 liament at one blow !—It is evident that in
 the hands of well-informed Catholics, Digby
 might have been a saint, but it was his hard lot
 to have fallen into the *pious* care of the *very*
Religious Castabals of his time !*

James’s oath, twice condemned by Paul V,
 was again condemned by Innocent X, and
 lastly, as already shewn, in Pope Alexander
 VIIth’s Censure of the loyal *Remonstrance*,
 ann. 1662 !† and although in defiance of all

* See *Digby’s* original papers published by Secretary
 Coventry.

† Paul Vth’s first Bull is dated the 10th of the Kalends of
 Octob. i. e. Sept. 22, 1606. His second is dated August 22,
 1607. Both may be seen in O’Daly’s *Relatio Geraldinor*, p.
 255, in Burk’s *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 613, and in King
James’s Works, *ibid*.

these Bulls, it was twice solemnly approved by the Sorbonne in 1680, yet—good reader—observe the principles of the foreign influenced *English* and *Irish* Bishops—they adhered to the Roman condemnations against the Sorbonne; and there is not one of them who would dare fairly, *in terminis*, to disapprove of those Roman Censures *to this day*!

Character of the Bishop of Clogher.

48. What that *holy* spirit was, which impelled the Roman Court to condemn James's *Oath*, and the *Loyal Remonstrance*, and other formularies of civil allegiance, which shall be noticed in the sequel, may be inferred from Primate Lombard's account of the *Temporal* pretensions of the Holy See.*—Lombard had closed his eyes to all human hopes and passions before his book was published; but his MS. had been approved of by Clement VIII, whom he designates in his Dedication as the real

* See above, p. 194—199.

Sovereign of Ireland; and it had lain on the shelves of the Vatican, until an opportunity offered, when there was neither a *Burleigh* nor a *Walsingham* in the English Cabinet;* when King James had left, as a legacy to his Son Charles, a discontented people, an expensive war, an encumbered revenue, and an exhausted treasury; and when *Ebber Mac Mahon*, afterwards Bishop of *Dawn*, and next of *Clogher*, was engaged, with other foreign emissaries, in a conspiracy, the deepest, and the most fatal to Irish Catholics, that ever was formed.

* Europe was in suspense relative to the destination of the Spanish Armada, when Walsingham detected it. Having intelligence that Philip had communicated the secret to the Pope, he contrived to have his Letter stolen out of the Pope's Cabinet, by a Gentleman of the bed chamber, who took the keys out of the Pope's pocket while he slept. He then retarded the invasion a whole year, by having the Spanish Bills protested at Genoa.—He also laid the foundation for the civil wars in France and in the Low Countries.—“ You need not fear the Spaniard,” said he to Elizabeth, on his return from his French Embassy, *I have given him such a bone to pick as will last him twenty years, and break his teeth at last.*—Naunton's Fragmenta.

against the established Government of his Country. *Ebher* himself confessed in 1634, that the plot in which he was engaged, was planned so far back as in 1628, in a conference between Cardinal Richlieu and Tirone;* and the connection of Lombard's book with a treasonable design against the State of Ireland, is manifest from Secretary Windebank's Letter to Lord Strafford, dated Nov. 20, 1633. †

I have no malignity to the memory of this unfortunate and misguided Bishop of Clogher. There were some good traits in his character, which are fairly acknowledged by

* Clarend. Ir. Rebel. Dubl. 1719, 1720, p. 134, also Lond. 1721, p. 187. MS. Original Brit. Museum Sloane 3838, Carte's Orm. v. 1, p. 155, and 160. Borlase Lond. fol. 1680, p. 2.

† Strafford's Letters Dubl. 1740, v. 1, p. 161, Harris's Ware's writers, p. 103.—Lynch's words are—"Nuncius præ cæteris veteribus Hibernis *Emerum Matheum Clocherensem* et *Boetium Eganium Rossensem* Episcopos in intimam familiaritatem adscivit, et, *eorum consiliis* a Confœderatis eum alienantibus, et ad arma iis inferenda excitantibus, proh dolor! aures et assensum præbuit." Alithinol. Supplem. p. 76.

Clarendon, by Ormond, and by Carte.* He spoke no other language than the Irish, which may perhaps recommend him to some Milesians, and certainly cannot be a source of prejudice in me.

49. But he was a conspirator. He revealed his conspiracy, and declared himself on his knees a repenting sinner. And yet—was he a penitent? Do we not find him soon after a Roman Courtier, and appointed to the See of Down, and soon after transferred to that of Clogher? and if his penitence had been real, if he had revealed that foreign conspiracy for any other purpose than that of discovering the secrets of those to whom he revealed it, would he have been rewarded with a Bishoprick? Do we not find him assisting in the plot of 1641, at *Maguire's* house?† Was he not, for many years, one

* Compare the original narrative of the battle of *Letterkenny*, dated Omagh, June 27, 1650, printed by John Field, Lond. 1650.

† *Maguire's* Confession, an authentic document, acknowledged by all parties, in *Nelson*, and State Trials. Compare the original edition, given in his own hand writing by Sir *J. Conyers* 1642, with an interesting account of his execution, London 1644, and with *Carte's* Orm, v. 1, p. 161.

of *Ormond's* most violent antagonists? the Nuncio's right hand? *Owen Roe's* adviser in every fatal step which he had taken against the loyal Catholics? an intriguer who was guilty of repeated violations of the public faith, who persuaded *Owen Roe* to join the Parliament rather than the King, and to relieve Sir *Ch. Coote* in Londonderry, on the payment of £2000 in money, some ammunition, and 2000 cows? * Can I prostitute my understanding, my veracity, and my Religion, by bestowing commendations on a Bishop who was guilty of all this? I allow that he was a man of great courage in the field; and therefore chosen for their General by the Ulster army.

He carried his sword in one hand, and his breviary in the other, at the battle of *Letterkenny*, in 1650! But this is not the sort of praise I should find it in my heart to bestow upon a Bishop. I should rather wish to find him courageous in adhering to his word, abiding by his *oath*, upholding the national faith,


* Clarend. Ir. Rebel. Dublin 1719, 1720, p. 85, and 136.

resisting hypocritical clamour, and giving good example by unimpeachable *integrity*.

50. But now,—having stated this,—here I pause!—Let national feeling recount the rest.

Historical justice, outraged by foreign influenced falsehoods, is appeased, and the national character is redeemed by acknowledging the truth; and yet,—may not one patriotic tear be allowed to fall upon the grave, I was going to say upon the monumental inscription which marks the grave of *Mac Mahon*? Was there no bright reverse in his character? nothing to extenuate his faults, nothing to imitate, nothing to commend?

Alas!—my Countrymen—although no monument tells where he is interred; although the moss, and the rank weeds, emblems of his passions, hide the grave where he lies in undistinguished and unmerited obscurity; though his virtues would perhaps never be known, if the memory of them had not been preserved by that very *Ormond*, whom the foreign influenced intriguers have calumniated as the greatest enemy to our Country, yet do these virtues



entitle him at least to posthumous renown ! His *politics* were of *foreign* growth; he had imbibed them in his younger years, in that Ultramontane School which has been the bane of our Island; but his virtues were *genuine Irish*, and entirely his own; the most undaunted courage in battle; the most generous feelings for a fallen enemy; sincere regard for the Protestant Bishop Bedel, whose life he contributed to save; a steady determination to adhere to his engagements with Ormond, from the moment that he discovered his error in adhering to the Nuncio; and an honourable and perhaps a religious resolution to expiate that error, and to redeem the honour of his Country, not by empty gasconading, but at the *hazard of his life*.*—What he resolved, that he executed; what he promised, that he performed; and even his enemies acknowledged that he was “ a person of as signal abilities as

* He is falsely accused of having advised Sir Phelim O’Nial to pursue that savage policy which he pursued in the North. See the Deposition of W. Simpson of Glassogh, and Carte’s Orm. v. 1, p. 176.

“ Ireland afforded, a man of deep judgment,
 “ quick apprehension, indefatigable spirit, ready
 “ execution, and the Irish Adam, for Ireland
 “ stood and fell in him.” *

He was one of those who assembled at *Cluanmacnoise*, Dec. 4, 1649, as stated in the first part of this *Address*, p. 172, &c. and he would have saved the Country, even then, by the splendour of his diction, and the force of *his arguments*, had his advice been followed by his intriguing brethren, who had resolved, for *Courtly reasons*, to adhere, *at all hazards*, to the Court of Rome !

He informed them boldly, that he was sorry he had been so long the dupe of that Court ; that all Irishmen must abandon the Nuncio, and his favourite, the Earl of Antrim,†

* *Perfect Relation* of the total overthrow of the Irish army in Ulster. London, printed by Field, 1650.

† “ At this time (1649) the Bishop of Clogher baffled all
 “ the measures of Antrim ; and as, by his conversation of late
 “ with Ormond, he had formed the highest opinion of his
 “ talents, and his zeal for the good of his Country, he repre-
 “ sented him in such a light at the Assembly of Cluanmacnoise,



and adhere to Ormond, if they wished for the salvation of their Country, or their Religion; that, for his part, he would never more hold any correspondence with that party; that all Antrim's pretended talents, lay entirely in treachery, in falsehood, in defamation; that he had the meanness to hate, for his merit, Ormond, whom he envied; that he conspired with the English Parliamentary Generals against Ormond and Inchiquin; that he was guilty of forgery, and had been compelled to confess it; and that Ormond would have committed him to prison, if he did not fear that the Nuncio's party would impute his so doing to private revenge. "It is not only the malignity of his nature, said he, which prompts him to asperse Ormond, but also because he is intriguing with the Royal Family abroad, to procure the Lieutenancy of Ireland for himself."

Proceeding in this manly course, *Mac*

"that he either instilled into them the same opinion, or
 "silenced or deterred them from asserting the contrary."
Carte's Orm. v. 2, p. 105.

Mahon, exerted all the vigour of his mind, and all the unconquerable hardihood of his iron frame of body, to raise in the Ulster Catholic army, a spirit of enthusiastic ardour in favour of the Monarchy, and of Ormond, whom he every day more and more esteemed, in proportion as he discovered the baseness with which he had been calumniated.

Communicating to that army the ardour by which he was animated himself, and trusting to the abilities of *Ormond* in Leinster, to *Inchiquin's* in Munster, and to *Clanrickard's* in Connaught, he put himself at their head; he exhorted them with his usual eloquence, in the Irish language, to remember, that men who had confessed their sins penitentially, and had received the Sacrament, and were fighting for their wives, and children, and Religion, had nothing to fear; he exposed his health to every fatigue; his person to every danger; his character to every imputation; and if he failed in his attempt, he failed not from want of zeal, energy, or vigilance, or from dastardly timi-

dity, but because Providence had never destined him to be a General; because the crimes of the Ultramontane intriguers, and perjurers, and violaters of our national faith, drew down upon us the *curse of Cromwell*; and because our Country, at that time polluted by crimes, deserved the vengeance of God!

Be it remembered that he joined the good cause, when that cause was almost desperate, when he had nothing to hope for himself, and when he had nothing to gain, but the consolation that, by such a course, he might expiate his former errors, and atone for his political sins.—But Providence has not decreed that virtue should always triumph in this world. “*Victrix Causa Diis placuit.*”

He fought the fatal battle of *Letterkenny* against the advice of his Officers; and by his impetuosity and rashness he lost the flower of *Owen Roe's* veterans, leaving 1500 dead on the field. Thanks were returned for this victory, by a solemn Act of Parliament; Coote's messenger was admitted into the body of the House, to relate *his own account* of

the action;* all the members stood up uncovered to hear it; and other circumstances indicate that it was dearly bought.

In fact *Mac Mahon* rode in front of his men, encouraging them in the most dangerous encounters; and when he surrendered, the day after the battle, he had no recourse to a cowardly intrigue, as Primate Reily had, to save his life; he surrendered, sword in hand, at the head of the broken remains of his scattered forces; he surrendered only to superior numbers, and to fresh troops, who opposed him from Inniskilling; when he had done all that loyalty could expect, or valour accomplish; when he was exhausted by

* Orders of the House for public thanks, &c. Friday, July 26, 1650, in *Ibbetson's Proceedings*, p. 578—604, also in *Griffin's Perfect Diurnal* for 1650, p. 358. The Parliament forces in Ireland at this time were 40,000 horse and foot, *ib.* p. 361. At the battle of *Letterkenny*, *Coot's* army consisted of 3000 foot, 800 horse, and *Mac Mahon's* 4000 foot, 400 horse. This is *Cox's* account. The others that I have seen in the *Perfect Diurnal*, in *Ibbetson*, and in all our Historians, differ so widely as to the numbers on both sides, that we cannot consider them conclusive. The passions of men disguise and corrupt whatever they touch.

history without any knowledge of Irish books, documents, or language, as he writes on architecture without any knowledge of geometry, and as he quotes the Koran without any knowledge of its contents, that the Irish massacre may be excused by the previous massacre of *Island Magee*; that the Protestants began the work of blood; and that the late *Doctor Curry*, and my late Grandfather, *Charles O'Connor*, of Belangare, have *invincibly* proved that 3000 unoffending Catholics were massacred there in cold blood. *

* He asserts that my late Grandfather *revised* and *published* Doctor Curry's Review, Dublin, printed in 2 vol. 8vo. 1786. Letter p. 114, 115—whereas the fact is, that the Editor, Revisor, and Publisher, was Mr. *Thomas Broghil*, who omitted the only part of that work in which my Grandfather was concerned, namely, the *Introduction*, written so far back as 1757, and prefixed to Curry's *Historical Memoirs*, printed that year. From 1757 to 1793, when my Grandfather died, a period of nearly forty years elapsed, during which his reading convinced him that Curry had committed many blunders; and I have at this moment before me an original letter of his to J. Cooper Walker, disclaiming all concern in the second edition of Curry's *Review*! So much for the V. B. of Castabala's knowledge of Irish History.

Mr. Broghill had no pretensions to historical knowledge.

52. Let us suppose, for argument, that all these *assertions*, every one of which is an *infamous falsehood*, were true—does a Catholic Bishop dare, in a vile Pamphlet addressed to Irishmen, to justify or extenuate one massacre by alleging the commission of another?

Countrymen—You must differ very widely indeed from the generous souls with whom I was acquainted in my younger years, if you put up with an insult to your national character so base and outrageous as this!—When *John Enhuyer*, Bishop of Lisieux, received the mandate for the massacre of the Hugonots, he convened the Magistrates to his Church, as he was ordered, but instead of reading that infamous warrant, he preached a most impressive Sermon on Christian Charity, which wrung tears from the most obdurate; and then shewing the warrant, he indignantly tore it, scat-

No man was less qualified to be the Editor of such a book. History demands a profound knowledge of the materials which belong to it, and these require the undivided labour of the whole life of man.—Mr. Broghill was a Merchant, not an Historian.

tered its fragments on the steps of the Altar, and trampling upon them,—“Go—said he, you “who expect mercy from God—Go—if you “*dare*—pollute your hands and your hearts in “the blood of your brethren—Go—create a “day of mourning for Christianity, and brand “with indelible disgrace the character of the “French nation !” The whole audience, electrified by his manner, as by his words, burst into acclamations of charity. Instead of justifying one crime by another, they invited their Hugonot neighbours to dine with them next day; mutual invitations finished the work of mercy; Christianity triumphed, and the character of that Christian Diocese was saved !

When the Governor of Bayonne, was ordered to take a part in the same massacre—“Let your orders, said he, be *such as we are* “*able to perform*,”—His honest soul, says Montesquieu, conceived so base an act to be an impossibility !—When Henry III, who knew the hatred which the brave *Crillon* bore to the Guises, proposed to him to assassinate the *D. of Guise*, *Crillon* answered,—“Sire—I am a

“ *Soldier, and not an Assassin*—If you wish
 “ me to challenge Guise in fair duel, I will—
 “ but an Assassin! *un manigoldo—Qibo!*”*

And has it been reserved for a Castabala of
 the 19th century to speak a different language?
 —Englishmen—forgive me—I know the gene-
 rosity of your national character—You will
 allow me to thank heaven that this *Castabala*
 is not an Irishman!

53. In blood-stained days of Religious fana-
 ticism, we were guilty—I mean to say *your*
Ancestors and ours were guilty of abomina-
 tions, atrocious crimes, to which the present
 generation—thank God—look back with all
 the horror and indignation they deserve. But
 those days, I trust, shall not be restored by any
Castabalā, or by any *Gordon*, or by all the
Castabalas and all the *Gordons* put together.—
 No—vile hypocrites—You—who are a disgrace
 to Christianity, *lie down*.—Spare yourselves
 the shame of exciting us to new murders—*lie*
down—those days shall never return again!

* Davila's *Guerre Civili*, l. 9, Londra 1804, t. 4, p. 291.

But what then does Doctor Curry prove in his chapter on the pretended massacre of *Island Magee*?—Good reader—take up the book, satisfy your own eyes, you will find that he proves *nothing at all*; you will find that I state the truth.

Curry's history is a medley of unconnected quotations, huddled together without due attention to chronological order, or historical arrangement, in which the old style is sometimes confounded with the new, and a broken narrative betrays the compiler's ignorance of this leading fact, that in all the public acts and documents of the periods to which he refers, down to the revolution, the English year begins, not from our new year's day, but from the vernal equinox—Lady-day in March.* In some instances he is unacquainted with books which he ought to have consulted, and with facts which he ought to have known; in others, he rejects as

* See the *Perfect Diurnal*. Carte is perhaps the first of our Compilers who begins the year from January 1, as in v. 1, p. 159. Cox and Morrison begin the year from Lady-day in March.

forgeries of Protestants, some of the most leading subjects of our history, trying to make a chasm, even where the most glaring evidence stands in the way, and to *put out the light, in order that we may see the clearer!*

53. Thus, for instance, servilely imitating the style and manner of the wretched, drawling, ignorant, *Mac Geoghagan*, he asserts that the conspiracy for which *O'Nial* and *O'Donnel* fled in 1607, was a sham plot, invented by *Cecil!* exactly as Higgon's and the foreign-influenced Irish writers pretend that the gunpowder treason was a sham of Cecil's also.*

And yet the reality of that plot rests, not only on the anonymous letter to Sir W. Usher, March 19, 1607, nor only on the testimony of Doctor Jones, nor only on the circumstantial narrative of Carleton, † nor only on the King and Council's letters of Jan. 24, 1607, and Nov. 20, 1608, nor only on Carte's account,

* Higgon's view of Engl. Hist. Hague, 1727, p. 253. Burke of Ossory's Hibernia Dom. p. 613.

† Thankful Remembr. p. 168.

nor only on the King's proclamation, dated Nov. 15, 1607, at a time when he wished to conciliate the Catholics, and when nothing short of absolute necessity compelled him to be severe; it rests upon the authority of the Catholic writers themselves, who *lived at that time*, of O'Sullivan, who was personally engaged in it,* of Lynch, whose authority no Irishman will reject.

Personally acquainted with Rich. Nugent, first Earl of Westmeath, Lynch relates that, after his long captivity in the tower of London, where he was born, and witnessed the death of his father Christopher,† he invited

3 Desid. Curiosa p. 503—513. Cotton MS, Titus C. vii.

Hist. Cathol. fol. 209, &c. agreeing in this with the Royal Proclamation, MS. in the Lambeth Library, No. 617, p. 96, dated Westminster, Nov. 15, anno 5to Jacobi I, Desiderata Curiosa Hibern. p. 508, and Ryves's Regimen, p. 54.

† See this *Address*, part i, p. 149.

Archdale erroneously asserts, in his edition of Lodge's Irish Peerage, Dublin, 1789, v. 1, p. 236, that Christopher died in custody in the castle of Dublin, Sep. 9, or Oct. 1, 1602.—I give the best authority, Lynch's *Altitudo*, Supplem. p. 185, and again p. 172 and 195.

“ Nativitas quam in Carcere Richardus, Primus West

O'Nial and O'Donnel to his mother's castle of Maynooth in 1606, and having by his artless narrative, excited in their minds the flame that burned in his own, the result was a conspiracy, for which he was taken and condemned to die, whilst O'Nial and O'Donnel fled the Kingdom.—On the day before his intended execution, a rope being conveyed to him in a basket of oranges, by his servant *John Evers*, he contrived to descend from the keep of the castle of Dublin, into the arms of his friends, and, mounting his charger, reached the castle of *Clochnachter* in Cavan on the following day, Nov. 21, 1607. —Sir R. Wingfield pursued him, rewards

“ *mi Gomes postea renunciatus, Christophori filius, nactus*
 “ *est, certum fuit futuræ illius in fide Catholica constantiæ*
 “ *præsagium. Hic Maynothæ, sub annis, 605, cum Tironis*
 “ *Theonalliaque Comitibus in colloquium venit, in quo sta-*
 “ *tutum est, omnia assensu, ut Religionem, imminenti rui*
 “ *næ periculo armis subtraherent; cujus consilii, cum alium*
 “ *sui ordinis consilium fecissent, cepta in fumum abierunt, illo*
 “ *susceptas molitiones ad senatum Regium deferente.”* *Alith,*
Supplem, p. 186,

were offered for his apprehension, proclamations were issued, and spies were employed; when, to the utter astonishment of the Court of England, he presented himself before the King, and laid at his feet a Memorial of the grievances and sufferings of his family, inflicted, not for any treason, but for resistance to the oppressions of his Ministers.

This boldness disarmed the hostility even of those malignant times; his youth and inexperience were supposed to have laid him open to the insidious policy of Tirone; he was restored to favour, to liberty, and to his estates; and though he invariably adhered to the Religion of his ancestors, he had a grant from the crown dated Sep. 27, 1641, of the *Rectories, Parish Churches, and Chapels, of Mullach, Killikear, Kilmore*, and eight others, with all the *tithes*, glebe lands, &c. in the County of Cavan. There are several such grants to the Irish Catholic Nobility and Gentry of that reign, which the Irish Bishops have, in their *secret Synods*, resolved to abolish, in defiance of the

most venerable Canons, of all equity, and of all law.

54. The conspiracy of 1606 was not therefore a sham plot, invented by *Cecil*, but as real as any fact in history*—and yet, to Harris's overwhelming question, why did *O'Nial* and *O'Donnel* fly? Curry answers, in the style of a whining schoolboy—"because they were
 "afraid!—because they were not expert at
 "drawing up memorials!—because they were
 "in too desponding and necessitous a state to

* See the *Original Narrative* of the Flight of the Earls, in the Cotton MS. Titus C. vii.

The manner of his death ought to be recorded as a warning. Having refused to join the Insurgents at the siege of Drogheda, in 1642, as stated in the first part of this *Address*, he was shot by them in an attempt to escape from his house at *Clounin*, in the course of that year. His plate and money to the amount of £1000 were seized, and his house and property to the amount of £20000 were destroyed, though, by the testimony of Lynch, he was the *most popular man in Ireland!* Lynch *ibid.* p. 86.

There are several inaccuracies in Archdale's edition of Lodge's Irish Peerage, one of which is, that this first Earl of Westmeath refused to join in rebellion with the Lords and Gentry of *the Pale*, in 1641. Nothing can be more false.—I boldly assert that *not one Gentleman* of the Pale moved in arms in 1641, except against the Rebels.

“do more than *relate* their misfortunes *ver-*
“*bally*,” &c.*

Gracious God! How true is it that falsehood will ever betray its folly, by some clumsy fiction, which demands the support of another fiction as clumsy as itself? He makes *O’Nial* and *O’Donnel* *illiterate*, in order to prove them *innocent*! and forgets that both had written and signed several agreements and letters to the Pope, the King of Spain, to Queen Elizabeth, and to King James, with their own hands! O’Sullivan acknowledges that O’Dogherty’s rebellion in 1608, was connected with that of O’Nial and O’Donnel; that he seized on the castles of *Derry* and *Culmore*, in expectation of their intended invasion from Spain;† and that those of the Catholic Clergy who detested the perjuries and treasons of their

* Curry’s Review, 4to. p. 46, note d.

† “Bellum statuit ducere usque ad adventum O’Neill, &c. quos a Christianis Principibus adjutos auxilio redituros sperabat.” fol. 210. Sullivan boasts that when Culmore was surprised, O’Dogherty’s party threw a library of 2000 heretical volumes into a fire lighted for that purpose, refusing to let them be redeemed for £100! He acknowledges however, with indignation, that the army by which O’Dogherty was

foreign-influenced brethren, advised the Catholic Lords and Commons to vote for the attainder of *O'Nial* and *O'Donnell*, as they did, in the Parliament of 1613. The King's proclamation of Nov. 15, 1607, refutes the impudent assertion that they were persecuted on the score of Religion.

Pretended Massacre of Island Magee.

55. The rebellion of *O'Nial* and *O'Donnell*, is therefore as real and undeniable as any fact in the history of the Irish nation; historical truths are not governed by theoretical principles; nor do they depend on the opinions of sectaries; but are founded upon *facts*, eternally hostile to every prejudice against truth. History is the severest of all studies, whilst superficiality is the parent of the most monstrous absurdities.—

Let us now return to *invincible* proof of a massacre in Island Magee.—

defeated, was composed chiefly of Irish Catholics, who were prevented from joining in that rebellion by all advised Priests, who were of English descent, and therefore heretically inclined! Such are the heresies of the foreign-influenced.

Doctor Curry himself acknowledges that Carte is his guide ; and he quotes no better authority.—Now Carte's words are "*it is affirmed* that such a massacre was committed by a party from Carrickfergus."—This is all the evidence he gives of the *fact* ! Let us see what he says of the *time*—"whether that happened before the surrender of Lurgan,* is *hard to be determined*; the relation of facts in those times being *very uncertain*, with regard to the times when they were committed ; though it is confidently *asserted* that that massacre happened in the month of November."† So much for the *invincible* proofs of a Castabala !—

56. The first who mentions this pretended massacre, is an anonymous collector of stories,

* Lurgan surrendered to the Irish Rebels by capitulation, Nov. 15, 1641, when, contrary to the faith of Nations, the whole garrison were put to the sword ! The foreign-influenced writers, ashamed of this horrid transaction, and endeavouring to cast off the odium, when they expected to be included in the Act of Settlement, trumped up their clumsy story of a previous massacre at Island Magee.

† Carte's *Orm.* v. 1. p. 188.

intituled “ a collection of some massacres and
 “ murders committed on the Irish, since the
 “ 23d of Oct. 1641,” which were published
 first in London, when the *Act of Settlement* was
 in contemplation in 1662.—At that time Crom-
 well’s faction had taken possession of the
 estates of many Irish Catholic Proprietors, as
 well of the innocent as of the guilty ; and Sir *J.*
Clotworthy was sent to London, to represent in
 the highest possible colours, the crimes which
 they were supposed to have perpetrated, so as
 to prevent their being reinstated by the *Act of*
Settlement.

Here then were two parties deeply interested
 in propagating against each other as many false-
 hoods as they could : and hence the pretended
 massacre of Island Magee was fabricated, to
 justify or to extenuate the real and atrocious
 massacres of October and November 1641.

The original edition of the anonymous
 collection of murders is now before me. The
 author gives only the initials of his name, *R. S.*
 he says expressly, in his preface, that he has no
 other than *hear-say* for what he asserts ; that

this hear-say evidence was collected by him, not in Ireland, but in London; and that he publishes it, without any further inquiry in Ireland, because that would require time and trouble, and *occasion delay*! *

Of this species of evidence, I leave every candid reader to form his own opinion; and I ask, how happens it that the Magee Massacre is not once alleged by any coeval Irish author, of whom many were so intemperate that they throw the odium of every outrage on the Protestants? Why is it not mentioned by the furious *O'Ceanga*, in his *Epistle to a Friend in Flanders*? or by the exterminating *O'Mahony*? or by the equivocating *John Ponce*, who, in his *Vindiciæ eversæ*, against Belling, attempts to shew that the Rebellion of 1641 was a most holy and just war? † Why not by *French*, Bishop of Ferns, either in his *Bleeding Iphigenia*, or in his *Epistle to the Bishop of Paris*, in

* And yet, so credulous are our Irish writers, that they have hitherto taken this pretended Massacre upon trust as an *Historical Fact*!

† "*Iustum Sanctissimumque decemli bellum.*" pag. I.

both of which he endeavours to justify or to extenuate all the treasons, and perjuries, and cruelties of his times.* Why not by *Carve*, another contemporary, and most zealous Catholic writer, who, on the contrary, feels himself indignantly compelled to throw the whole blame of those transactions on the foreign-influenced Friars and Mitre-hunters of his times?*

How comes it that they who, by order of the Supreme Council of Kilkenny, in 1642, made inventories of all murders committed since the Rebellion broke out,† never mention the

* See his *Lyra Hibernica*, a very scarce book, published by himself at Salzburg, 1666. His character of the foreign faction may be seen at p. 388. “*Qui magis proprio quam communi bono prospicientes, totam Catholicam fidem in maximum discrimen, ruinam, et perniciem protraxerunt, unde eo res deducta fuit, tum ipsarum ambitione, tum temeritate, ut qui devote huc usque Avitæ Religioni adhæserunt, nunc ex ovibus Lupi facti fuerint.*” A true character of the whole Sect, who, under the name of Catholics, have brought upon the Catholic Religion the most unmerited obloquy, infamy, and disgrace!

† The 9th and 10th Acts of the Council of Kilkenny, held on the 10th, 11th, and 13th days of May, 1642, command that faithful inventories be made in every Province and Parish, of “all murders, burnings, and cruelties which are com-

Massacre of 8000 Innocents in Island Magee? Why is not a word said of it in the *Letter to a M. of Parliament*, “*shewing the hardships, cruelties, and severe usage with which the Irish nation had been treated,*” which was written so far back as in 1666? * Why is it not mentioned in the *Briefe Narrative* of cruelties committed on the Irish during the Civil Wars, which was compiled by a Committee of Irish in London, in 1660, and presented to the D. of Ormond by Peter Walsh, in 1664, two years after the anonymous fabrication of R. S. had appeared? The reason is obvious—Peter Walsh knew it was a fabrication, and therefore he omitted it, though it would have served the Irish cause much better than some of the perhaps exaggerated cruelties which the *Briefe Narrative* contains. Why, in short, is not this

“mitted by the Puritan Enemies, with a quotation of the place, day, cause, manner, persons, and other circumstances, subscribed by one of Public Authority,” &c.

* This is clear from that author’s words—“It is now two years since the *Explanatory Act* passed in Ireland.” p. 18. Lond. 1751. That Act passed in Ireland, in May, 1664.

Magee story related in *Howel's Mercurius Hibernicus* 1643, or by any of the Miracle-mongers of that period, who relate tales every whit as extravagant as those of Temple and Borlace, of Ghosts brandishing their naked swords, their eyes sparkling with fire, their airy bodies streaming with blood, their long hair floating in the wind, and themselves, poor things! shrieking for revenge!*—Alas! how long shall honest Ireland be imposed upon by the counterfeit piety of Men, who raise a *Religious cry* for their own purposes, waving the vile banners of falsehood in the pretended cause of Religion, and endeavouring to appoint the Devil Standard-bearer to the children of God?

57. I scorn to enquire how the barren Peninsula of *Magee*, a mere beach, one mile in length and three in breadth, and washed on all sides by a tempestuous sea, could afford a population of 3000 *Innocents*; or how any one re-

* Such is O'Sullivan's story of the Devil dressing as an Abbe, to gain admittance to Sir J. Norris, and throttling and choking him with his cravat!

mained to tell the fatal story, if *all*, every one, were destroyed !—These are trifling considerations in the way of such an *accurate* scribbler as Castabala !—The benighting influence of bigotry is such, that it shuts out the clearest rays, and admits only the lurid vapours of a disturbed and feverish imagination, the assertions of a canting hypocrite, and the fabrications of a knave. Digby believed that he was offering a pure holocaust to God, when he determined to blow up both Houses of Parliament ! Some Irish *Seannachies* believed in an antedeluvian History of Ireland, related by one *Fiatan*, who was preserved from the Deluge by *Pios-Droideacha*, the incantations of Druids, and lived 300 years after ! O'Sullivan relates, in his *Catholic History*, that Sir J. Norris, one of the most able, and loyal Generals of his age, was choked by the Devil, who gained admittance to his tent by disguising himself as a gentleman dressed in black ! Mac Geoghagan gravely relates the same story, t. 3, p. 516 ; the Irish rabble have believed it, because the foreign-influenced forgerers have assured them of its truth ; and

so, even so—poor Doctor Curry believed in the *Massacre of Island Magee*!

But let us fancy, for argument sake, that this Massacre was perpetrated; and that too in November 1641—was not *Charlemont* treacherously surprized by Sir Phemil O’Nial, and its garrison inhumanly butchered on the 22d? Was not the *Newry* surprized next day by *Father Crelly*, who was afterwards the private Agent of the foreign-influenced Bishops, with Secretary *Thurloe*, in *Cromwell’s* Cabinet? * Did not the Rebellion break out on the 23d. by a previous arrangement of several months, during which, who can tell how many consultations were held, how many letters written in Irish, how many in Cypher, such as those which Lord Clanrickard discovered in the apartment of *Father A. Geoghagan*, all for the grand object of seizing the Castle of Dublin, and all the Castles of Ulster at one and the same hour?

* See above, pag. 180, and 145.

† Lord Maguire’s narrative.—They had two nightly meetings in *August*, one on the 26th of *September*, and one on the

I look not so much to the crimes which were perpetrated on this occasion, as to the *principles* which gave birth to them, and to the *public avowal* of those principles, even in *our own times* ! An Irishman disdains to inquire how many murders were committed, how much blood was spilled ? The pollution of his native Island by the spilling of *one drop* of innocent blood, excites his indignation ; his blood freezes, and he turns away with disgust, and horror, from every Incendiary who would attempt to justify or to palliate one Massacre by the commission of another.

But when he finds that the infamous Rebellion of 1641 was planned in the dark, by those who claim an *exclusive* right to judge and decide in secret Synods, on *all matters*

5th of October, at Lochross, where the attack was settled for the 23d. Carte, v. 1. p. 165, &c. Sir Fr. Willoughby's narrative in his own hand, in the Sterne MS. already quoted, No. iii. p. 424. The first Proclamation against them is dated Oct. 30. The Commission to Lord Gormonstown, and the other Catholic Lords, to act against the Rebels, is dated Nov. 2. The Declaration of the Lords and Commons, Nov. 17.—This is not Castabala evidence.

touching faith and discipline, by men who taught that a Papal excommunication, *however unjust*, must be obeyed, and that this was the grand lever of the whole Rebellion, and of all the *perjuries*, and *violations of public faith*, which have marked their characters with such indelible disgrace, he thinks it a duty which he owes to his Country, after having read so much of its history, as I have, to state fairly who those Incendiaries were, by whose persuasions the Rabble were stimulated to such unparalleled atrocities !

58. *Freret* charges these atrocities on the intolerant Spirit of the Catholic Religion.* *Bergier* answers, that Religion had nothing to do in the matter, and was only the *pretext*.† *Rousseau* acknowledges that all the wars called

* “C’ est a la Religion Catholique qu’ on doit les horreurs de la S. Barthelemi, et l’ affreux massacre d’ Irelande,” *Freret*, Examen Critique des Apol. de la Religion Chret.—The same objection is repeated in Voltaire’s *Traite sur la Tolerance*, *Diction. Philosophique*, &c. *Essais sur l’ Hist. &c.*

† *Bergier* *Certitude de la Relig.* Paris, 1767, part, 2. p. 109, &c. &c.

Religious, have taken their rise in Courts, amid the cabals of intriguers, and the grimaces of hypocrites;* and I answer briefly, that the Irish Massacre is not to be imputed either to the Religion, or to the Character of Irishmen, who abhor and abominate its memory, but to the Intrigues of the foreign-influenced, and to the *principles* which they profess.

Not *above one dozen* of those thousands who were stimulated to the Massacres of 1641, knew the extent of the design in which they were embarked, until the 22d. of October. “The design, says Carte, was confided only to “the old Irish, and not communicated to “*above half a score of those, till almost the very moment of execution.*” †

59. The Chiefs were *Ebher Mac Mahon Bishop of Clogher*, Father *Crelly*, who took the Newry, a Friar who went by the name of *Cristoir Ultach*, and who appears from my MSS. to have been *Christopher Dunlevy, Toole*

* Rousseau's Letter to Beaumont. Lond. 1763. p. 44.

† Carte's Orm. v. 1. p. 165.

O'Connally, who was **R. O'More's** Chaplain, **Sir Phelim O'Nial**, and six of the Chiefs of Ulster, who depended on their Vassals to follow them, as they said, *to the gates of hell!*

It was only when their unfortunate followers had stained their fingers with blood, and, having levelled the barriers of morality, and been taught that it was now too late to desert their Colours, for that no faith could be reposed in them by the government, that they plunged headlong into every barbarity; hardening their hearts against that natural reverence which Irishmen feel for old age; and steeling their nature against that Gallantry which, even at the worst crisis of their last rebellion, they manifested for the Sex. It is a *fact*, as certain as any in history, that they were taught to expect impunity *only* from extirpation!—

60. Fearing that their men might disperse, and throw themselves on the King's mercy, the Leaders resolved, that all should be equally guilty; that they should embark in wickedness beyond redemption; that an Island hitherto

famed for generosity and piety, should become a scene of tumult and Massacre, at which Humanity startles, Patriotism shudders, and Christianity forbids us to find a name !

The order for an indiscriminate Massacre was issued from *Sir Phelim O'Nial's* camp, on the 30th of October, 1641, and *Ebher Mac Mahon's* Manifesto appeared soon after !

Irishmen ! repress your feelings—The Sun himself is sometimes eclipsed in the heavens ; and the brightest sky is often dimmed and darkened by a passing cloud.—Our ancestors have been guilty of a formidable crime ; and that too at a time of profound peace, great good will on the part of the King's Government, and when the *Graces* had been conferred !—But yet—I contend that this was not a *national crime*. It was contrived by a few foreign-influenced Incendiaries. The Mass of our population, misled by artifice, were governed not by *Christian* and *Canonical* Rules, but by *Druidical* and *well-worshipping* excommunications, and miracles, by which they were

hood-winked; and when hood-winked, they were hallooed on to wickedness, which, if they had not been so *hood-winked*, they would have never dreamt of, and if they had not been so *hallooed*, they would have for ever abhorred.

61. Be it remembered, that few ages more abounded in *Religious* iniquity than the 17th; that its peculiar and distinguishing iniquity was that species of Religious canting, which brought *Strafford*, *Laud*, and *Charles* to the block; that never was more detestable rancour masked by more plausible words; never was more disloyal and treacherous conduct mantled with more loyal professions; never were more crooked designs against the independence of our Country, attended with more *perjured*, and yet *holy*, intrigues, for subjecting us to a foreign yoke, or with consequences more fatal to the Catholic Religion; for it was soon discovered, says Clarendon, “that the foreign-influenced
 “Irish had rendered themselves *incapable of*
 “*any trust*; for what security could they
 “give, which they *had not given*, for the obser-

“vation of that, which so infamously they
“had receded from.” *

This is the grand reproach with which the conduct and the *principles* of the foreign-influenced have loaded the Irish nation—but let us not forget that the English of the same period were equally criminal; nor is there any real difference but this, that the English have had the good sense to put a final end to the pretended spirituality of intriguers, who covered their intrigues with a holy mask, and gave to their own ambition the sacred name of heavenly power.—With the intended Saints of every denomination from Primate *Reily* to Father *Crelly*, Cromwell was extremely familiar. † He talked *spiritually* to them; he sighed, and he wept; he prayed, and he canted; he even entered with them into an emulation of *Ghostly gifts*; and whilst he cajoled and outdid them

* Clarend. Irish Rebel. p. 59. Lond. 1721.

† See above, pag. 239, 242. Compare *Ormond's* Letter to the Parliament General *Jones*, dated Thurles, March 27, 1649; and *Jones's* Answer, Dublin, March 31, 1649, both printed Dublin, by Will. Bladen, 1649, and reprinted by Cromwell, Lond. 4to. 1649. p. 6, and 10.

in *their own way*, they were proud that his Highness, the *Lord Protector*, had dignified their Holiness by his gracious example!—could *Mr. Perceval* have done more?

Charles O'Connor of Belanagare's Works.

62. I much regret, that, at an early period of life, my late Grandfather gave a different account of those times; more flattering to our *amor Patriæ*, more congenial to our feelings as Catholics, less grating and unpleasant to his own. Possessed of a benevolent heart, and wishing as well as he could, to exculpate his Ancestors, a laudable, and amiable, but not an *historical* disposition of mind, he published his *Introduction to Curry's Historical Review*, so far back as in 1756, at a time of life when he had not yet studied, nor collated, nor called to the *severe* test of critical examination, the passions and the prejudices of the Authors to whom he refers. I enter my solemn Protest against his character of *Lord Clarendon*, who, notwithstanding his chronological errors, and his implicated style, which is too frequently

embarrassed by the length of his periods, is yet the greatest and most Classical Historian that England has ever produced; and I utterly deny his *assertion*, that one of James's first Proclamations imported a general jail delivery "to all his subjects excepting *Murderers* and "*Papists*." (page x.)

Curry himself acknowledges that the first Act of James's reign, was an *Act of oblivion*, and *General Indemnity*, by which "all offences against the *Crown* were *utterly extinguished*, "and *all the Irishy* were received under the "King's *immediate protection*."—This Act was proclaimed with due formality in the streets of Dublin in 1603, by the Lord Deputy Mountjoy, previously to his setting out for the Court of England with the *penitent* Tirone; and it "bred such comfort and security in the hearts of all men, says Sir J. Davis, as thereupon ensued the *calmest*, and most "*universal peace* that ever was seen in Ireland."

Clarendon agrees; and Clarendon is an Historian to whom all parties are equally indebted, for having so clearly, so eloquently, and so undeniably pointed out to all, the rocks

upon which their Ancestors were shipwrecked, and the dangers to which they themselves, if they will follow such examples, are inevitably exposed.

63. I utterly reject my Grandfather's character of Clarendon's History as declamatory, and *untrue*. No Protestant writer of his age has done the Catholics so much justice; no Englishman of his age has treated the Irish with so much respect.—“ *All the Irish Catholics; of English origin, says he, and many noble, and much the best families of the (old) Irish, perfectly abhorred, and abominated these proceedings, it being apparent that the violent part of the Clergy, that now govern, had really an intention to put themselves under a foreign Prince, and never more submit to the King's authority. It had been proposed by Mr. Ant. Martin, and others, that they should call in a foreign power.*”*

Clarendon was, beyond all doubt one of the greatest men, and, if he had not, in some

* Clarend. Ir. Reb. Lond. 1721, p. 64. Compare Heath's Chronicle, Lond. 1663, v. 1, p. 216, 217, v. 2, p. 438, &c.

instances, too closely imitated the swelling style of *Davila*, he would have been the *greatest historian* of his age. The noble frankness of his reflections, the just debt he every way pays to candor, to friendship, and to virtue, the grave solemnity of his style, the strength and clearness of his diction, the majesty which pervades the whole of his History, and the veil which he occasionally endeavours to draw over the fanaticism of his Country, afford such internal evidence of the goodness of his heart, and the rectitude of his intentions, that it is impossible to read him without sympathizing in the calamities he bewails.* I have never read, in ancient or in modern history, any character so completely

* Burnet says that—one day, walking in the fields with his Father, the latter said to him “ I charge you, if ever you
“ come to any eminence in your profession, never to sacrifice
“ the laws and liberty of your Country, to your own interest
“ or to the will of your Prince.” He repeated this twice, and immediately fell into a fit of Apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours, and this advice had so lasting an influence on young *Hyde*, that he ever after observed it. Burnet’s Hist. of his own times, v. 1. b. 2. In Hume’s qualified praise of Clarendon, I think that I can see the *envy of authorism*.

drawn, as his character of Lord Falkland ; and I believe that amongst the many crimes, which mark, with indelible disgrace, the infamous reign of Charles II, not one is to be compared in meanness and ingratitude with his abominable dereliction and persecution of Lord Chancellor Hyde ! The truth is that the dignified deportment, the Christian conduct, the principles of that great man, were a living reproach to the Profligate Court of his licentious Sovereign. His letters to the D. of *Ormond* afford an irrefragable proof of the probity and disinterestedness of his noble mind ; and he and Ormond would have continued to be the *first*, as well as the *most upright* statesmen of their age, if they had not fallen into the grand mistake of imagining that a man's own integrity will support him in all circumstances, even in the most corrupt and profligate times, without the

“ His History does great honour to his memory, and *except*
 “ Whitelock's Memorials, is the most candid account of those
 “ times, composed by any *contemporary* author.” Hume's
 England. Charles II. c. 2. 4to ed, t. 6. p. 180.

aid of great power, or the support of very extensive popularity.

64. But unfortunately, this principle has often deprived nations of the benefit of the greatest talents, and the blessings of the most inflexible virtue!—We have witnessed this *repeatedly* in our own age.—He must be a shallow observer of human affairs, who cannot see that the pride of conscious virtue, and the dignified manners of men, whose private correspondence has been found to keep pace with their public professions, has often made them neglect those means, by which the pre-eminence of virtue might have been upheld against the artifices of the designing.

65. Clarendon consulted so scrupulously for the dignity of his own character, that he made it an inviolable rule never to enter into any conversation either with the Royal Mistresses, or with any of their adherents, except such cold, and sometimes supercilious, lofty, and brief conversation as he could not, from the nature of his office, with propriety decline. I have given a striking instance of the same conduct on the part of Ormond, in the first part of this *Address*.

p. 237. The Royal favorite, Mrs. Palmer, afterwards *Duchess of Cleveland*, failed not therefore to undermine his credit, and he fell a victim to the vilest and most profligate intrigues.

It is true, that he was an enemy to the growing power of the Catholics about the Court.— But let any man impartially consider what species of Catholics those were, who infested that Court, and infected it, by their profligacy, and then, laying his hand on his heart, let him answer it to God, would he, were he in Clarendon's place, suffer such a nest of villains to lay prostrate at the feet of so debauched a party as then surrounded the King, the laws, the liberties, and the morals of his Country.* I have already quoted his own words, from which

* The best account of his Life appears to be that which is prefixed to a *collection* of several valuable pieces of the Rt. Hon. Edw. Earl of Clarendon. Lond. 8vo. 1727.—A more full and faithful account might perhaps with propriety be suggested, as worthy the Patronage of that great man who has so deservedly succeeded him as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, and who has so elegantly portrayed his character in his Preface to the original letters of the great *Chatham*.

it appears that he does justice to the honour, the virtue, and the Religion of those Irish Catholics who adhered to the genuine principles of their Religion, in defiance of the excommunications of the Court of Rome.

I know that his glowing account of the period of 40 years from the death of Elizabeth, admits of some short intervals of exception; but yet it is undoubtedly true that Ireland had never experienced, since the 12th Century, such a calm; that never was there less provocation to rebellion; and that the strange infatuation of 1641, can be attributed only to those flagrant causes which I have assigned in Columbanus No. iv. pag. 84, to the end.

66. Until this period the lower orders of Irish had no legal tenure, no freehold property; no—they were worse off than the Negroes in the W. Indies. James emancipated them from the overwhelming Druidic System of the *Brehon* Laws, by which they were liable to the most capricious and despotical decisions. Their haughty Chiefs could punish them at pleasure by *Coigne* and *livery*, by *cosherings*, *cessings*,

cuttings, tollages, spendings, dungs, and even by death.—Clarendon's account is supported by the great authority of Sir J. Davis, of *Carte*, and of the original letters of the first Men of James's reign, in a Gotton MS. Titus C vii, in the British Museum; the linen Manufacture was so far encouraged in this period, as to establish an idea amongst our puerile Historians that it was then for the first time *introduced by Lord Strafford*;* the value of Lands increased; the customs amounted to, almost four times their value prior to the reign of King James; the shipping was found to have increased near an hundred-fold; the export trade was twice as much in value as the import; and the tranquility of the nation was unparalleled.*

* So Leland says, in the Contents of vol. 3. c. 1. p. 2, and again p. 30; and yet the antiquity of linen cloth in Ireland is lost in the night of the remotest ages of our history.

* Even the bigotted author of the *Hibernia Dominicana*, acknowledges that the commencement of James Ist's reign was auspicious to the Catholics. p. 27, and 611.—In fact his cool way of proceeding gave great offence to the Puritans; they raised a clamour against the favour which was shewn to some

67. My late Grandfather's statements, as far as they relate to Lord Clarendon, and to the persecutions of the reign of James, down to 1641, are therefore exaggerated ; and my respect for his memory, and the sincere regard I entertain for his virtues, his hospitality, and his Patriotism shall not induce me to violate the first duty of an Historian, *amicus Plato—amicus Socrates—Sed magis amica veritas.*—

In the King's Proclamation dated May 24, 1626, and addressed to Lord Falkland, he declares that his Catholic Subjects of Ireland
 “ are to be admitted to sue their *Liveries, ouster*
 “ *les mains*, and other grants depending in our
 “ Court of Wards, taking only the *oath of*

of the ringleaders of the Tirone rebellion, in the distribution of the Ulster lands ; they complained of the gentleness with which the *Recusants* had been treated ever since the reduction of the kingdom ; they vehemently declaimed against the King's pusillanimity in not daring to govern the Irish as he ought, asserting that when he came to the crown, he might have wrought by *severity* any conformity he pleased ; whereas by shewing favour to the old Rebels, encouragements had been given, and opportunities afforded them to correspond with foreign traitors, and to involve the kingdom in as much turbulence and confusion as it had ever experienced before.

“ *allegiance, and any other oath to be forborne*
 “ in that case; that Irish Lawyers are to be
 “ freely admitted by the Judges there to
 “ practise the law, taking *only the said oath;*”
 “ that for the better settling of Irish estates, the
 “ like *Act of grace* shall pass in next Parlia-
 “ ment there, touching the limitation of our
 “ Titles, *not to extend above 60 years, as did*
 “ pass 21 Jacobi I; so that from henceforth
 “ *no advantage* be taken for any title accrued
 “ to us, 60 years and above; and their several
 “ estates shall be confirmed to them, and to
 “ their heirs, by new Patents against us and
 “ our heirs, to the end the same may never
 “ hereafter be brought into any further ques-
 “ tion, &c.

There is not any man of common candor
 living, who will take the trouble, which I have
 done, of reading K. James’s *Apology* for the
 Oath of Allegiance, and his *speech* on the
 Gunpowder Plot, who must not perceive that
 he was an enemy to persecution on the score
 of *Religion*. I refer to his works, London,
 folio 1616.—Who is possessed of the feelings

of an Irishman, who must not admire the temper with which he talks of two *Bulls* issued against him by the Roman Court, to dispossess him of his just inheritance, calling upon the English and Irish Catholics to *suffer Martyrdom* rather than obey him?

“ If it be lawful, says he, to obey sovereigns in *temporal* things, why is the Pope so unjust? This exhortation of his can work no other effect, than to make him *guilty of the blood* of so many of his sheep, whom he casteth away not only to the needless loss of their lives, and ruin of their families, but even to the laying on of a *perpetual slander* upon all Papists, as if no zealous Papist could be a true subject!—But evil information, and untrue reports, carried so far as to Rome, must increase by the way, and might have abused the Pope, and made him dispatch this *Breve* so rashly.—So that it is no wonder *that even a just judge* sitting there, should, upon *wrong information*, give an unrighteous sentence; and it may be the like excuse shall hereafter be made for two *Breves*, which *Clemens Octavus* sent to England immediately before the late Queen’s death, for debarring me of the Crown, or any other that either would profess or tolerate the Protestant Religion; contrary to his manifold vows and protestations, *simul et eodem tempore*, to divers of my Ministers abroad, professing such kindness, and shewing such forwardness to advance me to this Crown.—Nay, the most part of the Catholics here, finding this *Breve* to be so far against Divinity, were firmly persuaded that it was a counterfeit, devised in hatred of the Pope, or at farthest hastily done upon wrong information, of which opinion were some amongst them of best account, whereof the *Arch-Priest Blackwell* himself was one.—But for

solving of this objection, the Pope himself hath taken new pains by sending forth a 2d *Breve*, for giving confirmation to the former, whereof the copy followeth—dated Rome, Kal. Sept. 1607.”*

69. I have already mentioned the outcry raised by the Puritans, because the Laws against Popery were not enforced. The Solicitor General *Sir R. Jacob* echoes their complaints, at a subsequent period of James’s reign, and Carte enlarges on the lenity of the Government. v. 1, p. 43.

I warn the dabblers in Irish History to beware of the *assertions* of the foreign-influenced.—Do we not find them making the Devil dress in the guise of an *Abbe*, to make his bow to *Sir J. Norris*, and then to throttle him?—Do we not blush at the indecent impudence of a banditti of scribblers, who imposed so far upon the credulity of our Countrymen, as to make them fancy that the Irish Priests

* K. James’s Works, p. 257. Relation of the proceedings against *Garnet*.—*Garnet* knew the secret *by confession*. Dodd’s Hist. v. 2, Brussels 1737. I say then that he *deserved to be hanged if he did not reveal it*. He could have revealed it without naming his accomplices.

Protestant Churches; and that in Dublin only he imprisoned *ninety Citizens* for denying the King's Supremacy! And yet the Sum of £600,000 exceeded the annual income of the whole kingdom at that time!—"The nine-pence
 "for non-attendance at Church was levied,
 "during Lord Chichester's government, in no
 "County but that of Dublin, says Carte, and
 "all that was levied upon Recusants in that
 "County, did not amount to *above* £15 a
 "year, which was applied to charitable uses,"
 v. 1. p. 34.

73. James's Proclamation was issued at the very time when both houses of Parliament were on the eve of being blown up by the Gunpowder treason!* It was issued after the foreign-influ-

* See the History of this Treason, London 1679, where the original examinations and documents are given at full length, with the Acts of Parliament, 3 Jacobi, c. 4, 5. and the Letters of the conspirators; and yet *Parsons* says, that *Garnet* who suffered the sentence of the Law for being *conscious of that treason*, died a *Martyr*! See his book against K. James's oath of Allegiance, p. 22—23. So does *Ribadeneira* in his *Catalogus Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, Antwerp. 1613, p. 377.—The Irish Petition against the Proclamation of 1605, was presented to

enced Clergy had taken forcible possession of several Protestant Churches, giving out that the King himself was a Catholic ;* after the Universities of *Salamanca* and *Valadolid* had decided that no Irishman could in conscience obey him, “ for, since Tirone had undertaken the “ war *with the Pope’s approbation*, it was, as “ meritorious to aid him against the Hereticks, “ as to fight against the Turks; and it was “ a *mortal sin* to assist the English against “ him; and those who did, must be deemed “ excommunicate.”*—Yes, after a Sermon had been preached at Cork, teaching that *he* could not be a lawful king, *who was not approved by the Pope*; after *White*, a Friar of Doctor Troy’s

the Council in Dublin, by an unusual concourse, on the *very day* when intelligence was received of the Gunpowder Plot! Chichester’s State Letters—Leland. v. 2. p. 421.

* Lord Mountjoy’s original Letters, and Moryson, part 21, fol. 291, 292, &c. and 336, 341 of the 8vo. edition.

* The original is *triumphantly* published by O’Sullivan, in his Catholic Hist. p. 203, and even so lately as in 1763 by Geoghagan, t. 3, p. . We may guess how it influenced the common Irish in the reign of James, when we find the foreign-influenced writers extolling it down to our own times!

order, had headed all the Dominicans of Waterford to Lord Mountjoy's Camp, to inform him that *the Citizens of Waterford could not obey any Prince who persecuted the Catholic Religion!*—After these doctrines had caused a new Rebellion in all the principal cities of Munster, so that they mounted guns upon their walls, killed some of the King's troops at Cork, and seized upon his stores;* after Pope Clement VIII. had directed the English Catholics to “*keep out the Scottish Heretick, unless he will reconcile himself to Rome, and hold his crown of the Pope,*”† then cautionary measures became necessary; and James issued the Proclamation of 1605, rather *in terrorem*, than with any view to persecution.—If we expect justice in the part of others, let us, at least, begin by giving the example ourselves!

* Lord Mountjoy's Letters—Morryson, &c.

O'Sullivan ib, fol. 199.—He boasts that they *slew more than they lost*, and that all those who fell in the subsequent rebellion of *O'Dogherty* were *Martyrs!*—The title of the *Infanta* was proclaimed by a Cork Schoolmaster, at the Market-place, in 1603.

† Carte's Orm. vol. 1. p. 33, King James's Works, fol. p. 257.

Of the Clamour raised about the Act of Supremacy in 1606.

74. It may be objected that Lalor, Vicar-General of Dublin, was persecuted for exercising his functions in 1606?

Countrymen, beware—These are loose *assertions*.—Inquire into *facts*, and you will find that *Lalor* was justly *prosecuted*, not persecuted, on the *Catholic* Statute of *Præmunire*, enacted in the Catholic reign of Richard II. for the security of a Catholic State.

He was prosecuted on that Act, for exercising *foreign Jurisdiction* within the realm of Ireland, “in order to convince the Irish, “ says Sir J. Davis, that even Popish Kings “ and Parliaments, deemed the Pope an *Usurper* “ of *those exorbitant jurisdictions* which he “ claimed, and thought them inconsistent with “ the loyalty of the subject, and the independence of the State.*

* Reports, 85. Davis's contemporary, *Abraham Bzovius*, wrote at this time his work *de Romano Pontifice*, to prove the

He was convicted, and sentenced accordingly. But, though this occurred the very next year after the discovery of the Gunpowder plot, yet such was James's moderation, that the sentence was *never executed*; and, to shew the Irish that no persecution of their Religion was meant, the King issued, in the course of that very year, a *Commission of several Graces*,*

Pope's *Deposing Power*, in which he gives a Catalogue of 30 Kings and Princes so deposed, and cites 100 Catholic Authors for that doctrine; adding that "*innumerable English Martyrs*" follow their leader *Father Campian* in maintaining it." These Martyrs were the *Gunpowder Plot* men, whom he extols, c. 46, p. 621.

* These were, I.—a Suspension of the Statute for levying 12*d.* Irish, i. e. 9*d.* English, on Recusants from Church.

II. An inhibition to the Clergy from enacting undue Fees of Recusants, for Marriages, Christenings, Burials.

III. A General Pardon to all who will sue it out, and to save charges, that 20 persons be comprized in each Patent for one fee.

IV. Ease in regard to proceedings in the Court of Wards.

V. Liveries to be sued without taking the oath of Supremacy.

VI. That when the great work is settled for the defence of the Kingdom, the King promises to call a Parliament in Ireland, for settling men's estates, and easing them by Acts of Grace, &c. College MS. No. 4, p. 32.—Fiction unmasked, p. 47.

one of which was to secure all Irish estates by new Patents against all the claims of the Crown.

71. Ay—but Lalor was first prosecuted on the *Act of Supremacy*.—Granted,—and thereupon he humbled himself to the Court, and, by oath, on the 22d of December, 1606, made the following Recognition.

I. “ That he is not *lawful* Vicar General in the Diocese of *Dublin, Kildare, and Fernes*; and thinks in his conscience “ that he cannot *lawfully* take upon him the said office.

II. That K. James is his *Lawful* Chief, and Supreme “ Governor in all causes, as well *Ecclesiastical* as Civil, and “ that he is bound in conscience to obey him in all the said “ causes, and that neither the Pope nor any foreign Prelate “ Prince or Potentate hath any power to control the King “ in any cause *Ecclesiastical* or Civil, within this kingdom, or “ any of his Majesty’s dominions.

III. “ That all Bishops ordained and made by the King’s “ authority, within any of his dominions, are lawful Bishops; “ and that no Bishop made by the Pope, or by any authority “ derived from the Pope, within the King’s dominions, hath “ any power or authority to impugn, disannul, or controul “ any act done by any Bishop made by his Majesty’s authority aforesaid.”

Upon this *Recognition*, he would have been enlarged; but finding an outcry raised against him, that he had renounced the Pope’s Supremacy, he declared that he meant only to

acknowledge the King's authority in mere temporals, without any reference to the Church. —A religious cry was now raised against the Government; *Lalor* was extolled as a *confessor* who was persecuted for Religion; and therefore, to satisfy the Irish how grossly their credulity was imposed upon, the prosecution on the Statute 2d of Elizabeth was quashed, and a new prosecution was instituted on the *Catholic Act of Præmunire*.*

72. Never did man incur the penalty of the Law more deservedly than *Lalor*—Was he one of those bold and manly heroes of Christianity, who having first taken a decided part, founded upon steady principles, prefers his ragged independence, "*splendidam pauperiem*," with the dignity of truth, and the consciousness of duty, before any advantage that may be offered by wealth, and in defiance of any difficulties that may stand in his way?—No—when he found that the Catholics were scandalized by his concessions, he privately denied them; and

* Davis's Reports, *ibid*.

when he found that his lie was detected by Government, he defended it by the meanest *equivocation*.—"Yes—said he—I have told
 " my friends that I never acknowledged the
 " King's Supremacy in *Spirituals*. Look to
 " my Recognition, and you will find that the
 " word is not *Spiritual* but *Ecclesiastical*."

73. He who is called upon by his duty to the performance of any engagement, must not be intimidated by difficulties. It is his business first to satisfy himself of the truth of his principles, and then to resolve: for the engagements of virtue are a *fight and a warfare* in which we must be content to struggle with much opposition.—~~He~~ who would *spill the last drop* of his blood to-day, in opposition to that which he himself was the first to propose yesterday, cannot be qualified to fight the battles of Religion. A person of this cast, whether he is a *Lalor* or a *Castabala*, is not possessed of that uniformity of conduct, that firmness of principle, of which the Poet says, " *Si fractus illabatur orbis, impavidum ferient*
 " *ruinæ*." Such a person can never attain to

The friend of truth must not be a low, mean, contemptible character, who varies with every popular clamour, who can encounter no calumny, who can resist no opposition.

Daily experience shews, that the Man who is governed by no *steady principle*, can never be possessed of the fortitude of a Christian. He may, perhaps, for a day, or a season, raise himself upon the ruins of others, by the artifice of a *No Popery* intrigue; but when the hour of danger returns to his own door, he will pause to *question the truth* of his own principles, such as they are, and these being unsteady, and dubious, floating on the surface of his little mind, and not deeply fixed by previous examination, so as to satisfy himself, he will never feel himself prepared for the utmost difficulty that may occur. He will have recourse to low cunning, shelter himself in paltry expedients, shrink back from every manly energy, and fear the light of truth because it exposes the crookedness of his ways.

Never shall I trust to men in the engage-

ments of *private friendship*, whom I find vacillating, and of *dubious character*, in those of public emergency ; for I would expect from a friend, that he should be my Advocate when I am injured, and that he should encounter obloquy, danger, and difficulty in my behalf ; and surely he must be possessed of little foresight, who cannot see that it is vain to look to such Men as *Lalor*, for that fortitude of heart, that utter disregard to a change of situation, that superiority to the casualties of life, which constitute the necessary qualifications of a Friend. I can see them in such a man as the present representative of the ancient Chiefs of *Moylurg*, *Hugh Mac Dermot of Coolavin*, who reflects back on his Ancestors, that manliness of character, that steadiness of principle, and that *Irish Mind*, which, at every period of our History, they uniformly displayed.—But in vain do we look for it in the low cunning of a *Lalor*, or the lower equivocations of a *Castabala*.

In *Lalor's Recognition*, the word *Ecclesiastical* supremacy is designedly substituted for *spiritual* ; because the latter was offensive

to the Catholics, as implying spiritual power *strictly* so called, which, being of *Divine institution*, is confined exclusively to the Church.—Let us summon these principles before the unerring tribunal of history.

74. The *Act of Supremacy* was really nothing more, as to its *intent*, than the Act of *Præmunire*. Its object was to restrain the exercise of illegal jurisdiction, and to confine within due limits the arbitrary proceedings of men, who, *under pretence of Religion*, claimed a power of exclusively deciding on *all matters*, whether mixed or unmixed, relating to the Church; men who claimed exemptions from the Law Courts, pretending that they could be judged only by the Pope, who frequently made the very Sacraments subservient to their passions, forbidding Divine Service, and interdicting the benefits of Christianity to all those who refused to comply with their arbitrary injunctions and decrees.

To restrain such abuses they were repeatedly admonished by the State, that they possessed no *coactive* power with respect to the

temporalities of their livings, except by *delegation from the Civil power*, and that, from the very nature of things, the first Magistrate of every State is, and must be, *Supreme Head* of all the temporalities, as well *spiritual* or *Ecclesiastical*, as *Secular*, of the State.*

75. The Catholic States of Europe have extended this principle even farther.—Observing that *Abbesses* were possessed of *spiritual* Jurisdiction over their respective dependencies, so as to give institution to the Clergy of their Monasteries, without being ordained themselves, they argued that they might equally collate to benefices, for that they also were anointed with a view to govern the morals of their people, to enact laws for the observance of the Sabbath, to punish blasphemy and immora-

* The meaning of the English Act is not to be collected from a *Religious Cry*. The doctrine of the Church of England, expressed in the 39 Articles, decides, that “the Church has a right to *decree rights and ceremonies*, and “has *authority in controversies of faith*, and is the judge in “*matters of faith*.” See Collier’s Eccl. Hist. v. 2, B. 2, p. 89. Thorndyke’s Rights of the Church, c. 4, p. 234. Bramhall’s Schism guarded, p. 63.

lity with death.—*In this sense* the Catholic Statute—10 *H. VII*, says that the Office of the anointed King of these realms is *partly Sacerdotal*,* and the Catholic Statute 33 *E. III*, says that our Kings are to a certain extent *capable of exercising Spiritual Jurisdiction*;† and every Catholic State in Europe judged of doctrines, so far as to declare whether this or that doctrine should be preached in its dominions.

76. Our Saviour expressly acknowledged Pilate's authority to judge him; and St. Paul, when called in question about the *hope of Israel*, the *resurrection of the dead*, and the *observance of the Law of Moses*, matters undeniably of a *spiritual* nature, did yet even in these cases appeal to a Pagan Emperor, against the *abuse of spiritual power*, and *stand at Cesar's judgment seat*, where he says that *he ought to be judged*. Acts xxv, 10.

* "Rex est mixta persona cum Sacerdote."

† "Reges Sacro oleo uncti Spiritualis Jurisdictionis sunt capaces."

Hence Alphonsus V. of Portugal, having conquered the Moors in Africa, delegated Spiritual jurisdiction to the *Order of Christ*, over all his dominions beyond Seas; and Francis I. of France, having conquered the Milanese, delegated the supreme Headship of all the Churches of that Duchy, to the Bishop of *Tarbe*, independently of the Pope.*

77. The Kings of France have, in all ages, given investiture, and *Spiritual* jurisdiction, by Patents and Royal Diplomas, to the Chapters of Collegiate Churches and Monasteries, exempting them from Episcopal Jurisdiction, and subjecting them exclusively to their own.

The arbitrary proceedings of some Bishops have compelled the state of France to enact a Law, by which all Parish Priests, when once instituted, are protected from arbitrary censures, and cannot be deposed without a Legal Process in the Civil Courts of the Kingdom. †

* Thuanus, fol. ed. v. 1. p. 90.

† “ Le pouvoir des Eveques n est point absolu. Ils ont des Regles a suivre, et des qu’ ils s’en ecartent, on peut leur resister. Le souverain a droit d’en conneitre, e d’en or-

Now, that by the *Act of Supremacy*, nothing more was meant, than to restrain the *abuses* of Spiritual power, by confining it to its original intention, appears evident from this, that even H. VIII. took care to *explain* that Act, by unequivocally declaring that he made no pretension to *any Sacerdotal power*; and when it was revived in the 1st of Elizabeth in England, and in her 2d in Ireland, the Title of "*Head of the Church*," which gave offence to the Catholics, was omitted, and that of "*Only Supreme Governour of this Realm*," was substituted in its stead.—This last is the only

" donner la Reformation. Plus leur dignité est eminente,
 " plus il faut veiller a les tenir dans l'ordre. C'est pour les te-
 " nir en ordre, et pour moderer leur puissance qu' on a sage-
 " ment etabli que les Pasteurs subalternes, ou Cures, ne
 " seroient point amovibles *ad nutum Episcopi*; que quand une
 " fois ils seroient places, on ne pourroit les deposseder, sans
 " leur faire leur proces; qu' on ne pourroit refuser ceux qui
 " seroient legitiment presentes pour ces places, sans leur
 " donner un *Acte de Refus*; que ce Refus seroit censé nul
 " s'il n etoit *motive*; que dans le terme d'un an ils seroient
 " obligés de conferer l'ordre de Pretrise aux presentés, pourvu
 " d'ailleurs ils eussent les conditions marquees." Droit. Eccl.
 France, t. 1, p. 23.

title which our Kings have ever since assumed ; and it is a mark of vile *dishonesty* on the part of our foreign-influenced writers, that they represent the Title of *Head of the Church* as still used in the Diplomatic language of our Kings.—But they are shamefully lost to every sense of decorum in this respect ; insensible of the sacredness of truth ; in many instances, absolute strangers, and, in others, affectedly ignorant of the Laws and Constitution of their Country.

Queen Elizabeth herself declared, by solemn *Injunctions* to all her subjects, that she pretended to no authority over the Church, but what was, of *ancient times*, due to the Imperial Crown of England ; and she allowed every one to take the Oath *subject to this explanation*. The same sense was put upon it by all the Clergy of England assembled in Convocation, in the 37th Article of Religion agreed to by them in 1562.

78. I detest falsehood in every shape it assumes ; in history particularly, every deviation from truth, however apparently venial, ought

to be prosecuted with all the severity of literary censure; the utmost indignation of Science is too mild a punishment for *intentional* misrepresentation.

The oath of Supremacy was approved of, and taken in the years 1532, 1533, and 1534, by the whole body of Bishops and Clergy of England in *Convocation*, before any Reformation of *Religion* was talked of in either Country! *Lynch* of Galway says, that it was taken by the Irish Chiefs in 1542, 1543, and 1544,* Sir J. Davis agrees;† the Earl of *Desmond* took it in 1540.‡ *O'Connor* and *O'Dun* followed his example in 1542. *O'Donnel's Indenture*, confirmed by the same oath, is dated Aug. 6, 1542. “*Quod renunciabit, relinquet, et adnihilabit,*

* “*Ecclesiasticum Regi Primatum detulerunt in Comitibus,*
 “ A. D. 1543, et summi Pontificis potestati nuncium remis-
 “ runt. Non dubito quoniam *O'Nellus* (Connus filius *Coni*) et
 “ *O'Brian* (*Concobharus* filius *Donati* Nepos *Concobhari*,) ad
 “ hæc se Comitibus steterint, ut qui superiore anno, a Rege
 “ *Comitis* titulo insigniti fuerint. *O'Donnellum Magnum*
 “ (*Hugonis filium*) ad ea se Comitibus contulisse nostri Annales
 “ diserte pronuntiant.” *Alithinol.* p. 22.

† *Discov.* p. 241—2. ‡ *Lib. D.* in *Cox*, v. 1, p. 266.

“*pro posse suo, usurpatam auctoritatem, et Primaciam Romani Pontificis,*”* *Mac Mahon's*, in the same words, is dated Aug. 14, 1542; *O'Nial* came to Maynooth in January 1543, and pursued the same course; most of the other Chiefs followed his example in the course of that year. *O'More's* Indenture is dated May 13, 1543. *O'Kelly's* Abbot of Knockmoy, May 24th.† *O'Rourke's*, September 1, 1543.—Can *facts* be refuted?—Is *history* a fairy tale?—

* Council book of Ireland 33, 34, 35, H. VIII. i. e. A. D. 1542—3—4. This is *the O'Donnel—Magnus mac Aodha Duibh, mc Aodha Ruaidh, mc Neill Gairbh ua Domhnaill*, whose pedigree was so given by the Court Bard of Tirconnel, in 1537, when he was inaugurated on *O'Donnel's* sacred rock, near the Church of *Kilmacrenan*. See *Cárvaí Lyra Hibernica Sulzbaci* 1666, p. 114. *Mac Donnel* and *Mac William* took the same oath May 18, 1543.

† His surrender of the Abbey, and acceptation of the oath, is dated May 24,—34 H. VIII, or 1543. He received the Abbey after, to hold it by royal tenure, on condition of furnishing 60 horse, a battle of Galloglasses, and 60 kerne, whenever the Lord Deputy came into Connacht, and 12 horse and 24 kerne out of Connacht whenever required. *Mac Donnel's* and *Mac Williams's* Indentures, are dated May 18, 1542. All these and several others may be seen registered in the red book of the Privy Council of Ireland. Lib. D.

Is it to be supposed that such men, so attached to the Religion of their Ancestors, would have taken that oath, if it had not been explained to them, as it really was explained by Henry and Elizabeth? * would they have submitted to *sacerdotal* power on the part of the King, a power which, as Chiefs of their own districts, they never arrogated to themselves?—Can it for one moment be supposed that in acknowledging Henry VIII. for *Head of the Church*, they held him to be the sacred source from which the Spiritual authority of the Church is derived? The idea is absurd. The Pope himself is not head of the Church in this sense. The Spiritual faculties of all Bishops and all Priests are derived, by *ordination* and *Mission*, from the express words of our Saviour, and thousands of Catholic Clergy

* They were informed that this Act was only a revival of the *Præmunire* and other *Catholic* Acts of Parliament, as in the ancient MS. Reports of the Reigns of Ed. III, R. II, H. IV, H. VI, H. VII. See Davis's Reports—R. II's Statute of *Præmunire* was re-enacted under H. IV. Sir J. Davis expressly says, that the *Act of Supremacy* was only a re-enactment of the Catholic laws.

have derived this Mission, in the Latin, Greek, and other oriental Churches, without holding any communication with, or deriving any power from the See of Rome.

79. The question was not concerning *Sacerdotal* or *Spiritual* power, strictly so called—but concerning Lay presentations, and what was justly termed the *excrescences of the Pope's Supremacy*. The statutes concerning Provisions and appeals to Rome were confirmed, and further explained, so far back as in 1531—1532. They turned upon sending money to Rome; paying *Annates*, i. e. a year's value of ecclesiastical benefices, to support the Pomp of the Holy See; and deriving honours, emoluments, and preferments, from that See.

The Church enjoys *a divine* power of preaching and *teaching* the doctrines of *Revelation*, independently of the Civil power. But if the word *Spiritual* is to be extended beyond that, it will be no difficult matter to make every cause *Spiritual*,* for murder, robbery, and all

* By matters strictly spiritual, I mean the Administration

offences against *God and the Church*, may so be termed *Spiritual*; Rome will then become a *Court of Chancery*; the Bishop's *Palace* will resemble *Doctors Commons*; and both will claim independence of the State, even in the *abuses* of that pretended spiritual authority which they so flagrantly arrogate;—as if—in sooth—the State had not authority to compel them to do their duty!

How comes it that Ed. III, granted Episcopal Jurisdiction to the Archdeacon of Richmond in Catholic times? 17 E. III.—and that the King alone can found a *Spiritual Corporation*? 9 H. VII.—that, in *Catholic times*, by the *ancient common Law*, any man who brought a Bull of Excommunication from Rome, against any of the King's Subjects, was guilty of High Treason? 30 Ass. Ed. I.

S. Thomas of Canterbury subscribed the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, one of which is “that

of the Sacraments, and assembling in *legitimate Councils* of the 1st and 2d order of the Hierarchy, as the Apostles and *Disciples* did, to decide on erroneous Doctrines, and to exclude from the Sacraments those who are *Canonically* condemned.

“in matters *Ecclesiastical*, there shall be no “appeal to the Pope.”—It is easy to raise a Religious cry; that may be done even by such scribblers as a *Lalor* or a *Castabala*; but History frowns down with indignant contempt on every effort to mislead; and the Historian, whose object is truth, looks to his reward in the consciousness of his own rectitude, and the approbation of Posterity.

80. Do I then recommend it to my Countrymen to take the oath of *Supremacy*?—I have already unequivocally declared *that I do not.** And why?—Because the word *Spiritual* is, in common acceptation, undefined;—because legal interpretations of oaths, however they may be palatable to the learned, do not accord with the *honest simplicity* which ought to be uppermost

* Columbanus No. 1, p. 91. I leave it to the candour of my Countrymen to judge what credit is due to that *Prelate*, who has the effrontery to say, that I “recommend it to my Countrymen to take the oath of *Supremacy*.” *Castabala's Letters to an Irish Prelate*, p. 93, 96, 98, 103, 115.

This is a *deliberate falsehood*, and the *dishonesty* of it is aggravated by his *numerous false quotations* of my words.—What would history be, were it to rest on the *assertions* of a man, so utterly insensible of the sacredness of truth?

with the great mass of mankind, who look only to the obvious meaning of words; and because whenever they find fictions of law substituted for that *honest simplicity*, experience shews that they will have recourse to fictions of their own.—The indecent levity with which oaths are commonly tendered, without that gravity, dignity, and decorum, which the sacredness of an oath so imperiously demands, will one day recoil on the profaners;—oaths will cease to be sacred, in proportion as they are vilified and abused; the barriers of civil society will be thrown down, and the iron age will return again; for men proceed in error as they do in vice; the progress from one error to another is easy and down hill; whereas the discovery of truth demands much reading, great disinterestedness of heart, great diligence, and the most laborious attention.

And yet I confess, with the most orthodox Catholic Civilians, that the true meaning of every legal oath, is that which is annexed *to it by the laws of the land*.

81. Hitherto then it appears, notwithstanding

ing the clamours of our bigotted historians, that *Clarendon's* account of the 40 years interval from the Tirone war, to 1641 inclusive, is accurate on the whole. Ireland had never before made such a rapid progress in the arts of peace; she had never had less provocation to rebel; and though six rebellions were, during that interval, fomented by foreign intriguers,* yet the Nobility, the Gentry, and the well-informed Catholics, not only of the Pale, but of all Ireland, were perfectly tranquil, and so generally content, that the Catholic as well as the Protestant Members who assembled in the Parliament of 1640, voted a supply of four entire subsidies, and inserted in the Preamble to that Bill, a warm encomium on the King, “for the *large and ample benefits* they had “received, and still hoped to receive, by his

* It is said that K. James declared in England, that he would never grant any toleration to Catholics, and that he *entailed a curse* on his posterity if they granted any. *Carte's Orm.* v. 1, p. 21. But I deny this assertion as repugnant to the whole tenor of his reign, and supported by no authority equivalent to that tenor.

“ Commission of Grace, for remedy of defective titles.”

They were not only unanimous in the grant of these subsidies, but when the King, in his letter of March 2, 1640, expressed his fear, that if the Scots did not submit quietly, he should have occasion for two subsidies more, they agreed as unanimously in a Declaration.—

“ That if his Majesty shall be enforced to use his power to
 “ vindicate his just authority, this House, for themselves and
 “ the Commons of this Kingdom, will be ready with their
 “ *persons and estates*, to the uttermost of their abilities, &c.
 “ and they pray that this may be recorded as an ordinance of
 “ Parliament, and that it may be published in Print for a
 “ testimony to all the world, and succeeding ages, that as this
 “ kingdom hath the happiness to be governed by *the best*
 “ *of Kings*, so they are desirous to give him just cause to
 “ accompt of this people (the Irish) amongst the best of his
 “ Subjects.”—

Amongst the Acts laid before this Parliament in June, and approved of by the King and Council in England, one was for the
 “ Confirmation of Letters Patent, granted upon
 “ *any Commissions of grace* for the remedy of
 “ *defective titles;*” an Act of such importance to the Irish, so beneficent in its purview, so

rich in its consequences, that it was called the *Golden Act*, and was declared by the Lord Chancellor to be worth *many millions of money*, as it really was, to the Irish nation!—

I am sensible that, at a subsequent period, this Parliament finessed with the King about the subsidies they themselves had granted; that they took advantage of his distress; that they affronted and vilified him, and degraded themselves, and levelled the independence of their Country, by laying their exaggerated complaints against Strafford before an English H. of Commons.—But no Irishman will thank them for this part of their conduct. It was the first application that an Irish ever made to an English Parliament; and it affords one detestable instance, out of a thousand, which could be alleged, to shew what the violence of party rage is, and how no consideration even of national liberty can restrain it, from sacrificing to its voracious appetite the best feelings and interests of humanity and truth. They condescended, in this instance, to become the tools of a prevailing faction in England; and

they prosecuted to death, and were chiefly instrumental* in spilling the blood of one of the greatest, and one of the most loyal and honourable Men too, that the British Islands ever produced.—But this is not the question before us.—

Whatever opinion may be entertained with respect to the proceedings against Strafford, there can be *but one* with respect to the lenity of the Government towards the Irish at this time.† It was in fact the interest of the Crown, and of essential importance to the Commerce of England, that Ireland should be tranquil and prosperous; and I find that on May 3, 1641, the King, by the advice of his Council in England, wrote to the Lords Justices in

* See above p. 125, &c.—Through malice to Lord Strafford, they stabbed their own country to the heart—and not satisfied with his blood, they voted his Proclamations for the regulation of *linen yarn*, for the encouragement of which he had expended of his personal property £30,000, to be *grievances!* though no acts could be more beneficial.—

† Even in 1616, James declared, in the Star-chamber, that “he could not persecute a Priest *only for Religion sake*; but “if he refuse to take the *oath of allegiance*, which is *merely* “civil, those that so refuse it, I leave them to the law.”

Ireland, declaring his pleasure that “ his Irish
 “ Subjects should enjoy the benefits of all the
 “ *Graces*, according to their true intent;
 “ requiring them to be *immediately settled*;
 “ and, for the greater expedition, ordering a
 “ Bill to be forthwith transmitted to him for
 “ *enacting the fifty-first Grace*, and in general
 “ all the rest; particularly for securing the
 “ estates; *or reputed estates*, of the inhabitants
 “ of *Connaght, Clare, Limerick, and Tipperary*,
 “ from all titles of the Crown, and for *dis-*
 “ *charging the intended plantation*, notwith-
 “ standing any offices there found, which
 “ were, by this Bill to be *declared void*.” This
 last Act alone was above £20,000 a year
 damage to the King in his Revenue.*

82. It is therefore impossible to ascribe the
 Rebellion of 1641, to the Catholic Gentry,†

* Carte's Orm. v. 1. p. 143.

† “ Some have supposed that the R. Catholic party in the
 “ Irish Parliament of 1641, *which was the most active party*
 “ *in it*, laid the plot for raising the insurrection which soon
 “ after followed.—But I cannot find any just foundation for
 “ this notion. Their most arbitrary proceedings were plainly

or to any persecutions of their Religion. The Catholics in the House of Commons in 1641, were a *strong party*, says Carte, and, when joined with the Puritans, they *carried all before them*; but this is not sufficient to charge them with a design of raising a rebellion.

“ By *all the observations* I have been able to make, says he, I do not find that there was any formed design of the *body of the R. Catholic party* in this Parliament, for an affair of that nature.”

About three weeks after the adjournment, 1641, their Committees returned from England with the Grants, which the King had made at his departure for Scotland, and *with all the*

“ taken from the example of the English, and perhaps in concert with them, by the intervention of the Committee of the former residing in England, and very intimate with the Heads of the Faction in the latter.” *Ib.* p. 150.

The Irish Committee here alluded to was chiefly directed by the Catholic Lawyers and Gentlemen, *Nicholas Plunket, N. Barnwall, Geoffry Browne, Thomas Bourke, John Walsh, Sir Donnach Mac Carthy, Sir Robuck Lynch*; Men of considerable abilities, but at that time, the tools of the Puritannical Faction in England. They ought not to have coalesced with such a Man as *Sir Hardress Waller*.

Bills, which had been transmitted to England, for the approbation of the Council there, before they could pass in Ireland. Amongst those Bills, one was the *Act of Limitation*, which unquestionably settled *for ever* all estates throughout the kingdom, that had been quietly enjoyed for the *sixty years* immediately preceding; another was for relinquishing the King's titles to the four forfeited Counties of *Connacht*, to that of *Clare*, and to great tracts in *Tipperary* and *Limerick*; and never were any Acts better adapted to give general satisfaction to the Irish nation.

Who can for a moment suppose, without wounding the honour, and injuring the *Religion* of the Gentry of Ireland, that they should choose that very juncture, for one of the most barbarous and atrocious rebellions, that ever disgraced the mob of any Country?

No, we must be content to lay the rebellion, and all the violations of faith, and perjuries which attended it, to the conduct and *principles* of the foreign-influenced intriguers, who argued that Ireland was in *temporals* the

property of the Holy See, and to those accessory causes which have been mentioned elsewhere.*

Alleged Cruelties of Protestants examined.

83. It has indeed been objected by Dr. Curry, and by my Grandfather, in his letter to *Hume*, that the Irish were provoked to Massacres by *the forfeitures* in Ulster; that the rage of the Inquisition was so boundless as to extend even

* See Columbanus, No. ii and iv, from p. 84 to the end.

In consequence of this doctrine, Richard the II^d. in the Indentures of the Irish Chiefs, made the penalties on the violation of their treaties payable in the Apostolical Chamber of Rome. In the reign of Henry V, the Anglo-Irish petitioned that the Pope should be solicited to support his grant of Ireland to England, by publishing a crusade against the natives. In the 7th of Edw. IV, the Irish Parliament formally asserts the grants of Pope *Adrian IV.* and *Alexander III.* as the King's title, and founds the Seigniorship of Ireland on these grants. Henry VII. applied to Pope Alexander V. to excommunicate the insurgents of Ireland, as the Holy See's rights were equally affected by their rebellion, as those of the English crown; nor was it till the 11th of Elizabeth, that an Irish Parliament annulled the Roman claims, by founding the English title on the alleged previous rights of the British Kings, *Gurmond*, and *Belin*!

to the *dead*; exhibiting a new species of contention, wherein the piety of one party exerted itself in stealing the remains of their deceased Relatives to the tombs of their fathers, and the malignant zeal of the other proved equally vigilant to detect the theft, *digging up those remains*, as unworthy of Christian interment, and throwing them into pits made for that purpose near the highways, after driving *stakes through their bodies*; that Friars and Priests were so persecuted, that *two of them hanged themselves in their own defence*; and that the poor were so persecuted for the tax, of one shilling on Sundays, as to fly for safety into dens and caverns, whither they were pursued by *blood-hounds*!—Countrymen! *Is this history?*

84. The great mass of mankind can seldom judge from facts of which they themselves are witnesses. Their sphere of action would be extremely limited, unless they trusted to the professions of others, and could rely for fidelity and integrity in return for the trust they repose.—To a man who has remaining in his bosom any love for his fellow creatures, or any

regard for their happiness, it will be a sufficient restraint to consider that even venial falsehoods are often productive of very extensive calamities; for it often happens that such falsehoods, being received for truths, are adopted as principles of conduct; and if they tend to inflame against each other the minds of men, who live together in one Country, or in one community, the mischief which they occasion can seldom or never be repaired.

To take advantage of the *ignorance* of mankind, for the propagation of falsehood, aggravates the guilt; and perhaps it is as silly as it is criminal, to hope that such treachery may be practised without danger, or repeated without detection; for there is a principle planted in the human mind, which teaches us that it is our duty to discover as much truth as we can. We are not content barely to vegetate on this earth; we will be solicitous to understand how our own happiness, and the happiness of society may be obtained; we will be equally solicitous to communicate our discoveries; and we will expose to the indignation of mankind,

the pernicious tendency of the principles we unfold.—If any flatter themselves that they do not propagate falsehood by a mutilated, and disingenuous disclosure of truth, they must be informed, that men who *manage* history in this *Castabala* way, are far removed from that simplicity of character which gives a favourable idea of their integrity; that they assume a studied appearance, which cannot escape the penetrating eye of a *Hume*; that they are supposed to have other ends in view far different from those which they avow; and that he who does not declare the *whole truth*, must have a reason for concealing that *portion* of it, which he takes so much care to withhold.

For my own part I am thoroughly convinced, that *truth* ought to be uppermost in Religion, whatever may be the consequences that are likely to ensue; temporary evils may arise from it; but *truth* cannot be productive of evil in the end.—I will therefore dare to speak out.—Approaching the idols of falsehood as David approached Goliath, I will not hesitate to proceed with *Coiffi* to profane

the altars of Woden; those who are ignorant of my *motives*, may attribute them to what they will. They are heartily welcome. I write not for hypocrites. I address myself to the honest and the virtuous, and something whispers into my ear, that I may look with confidence to posterity.

85. Now I maintain, that the forfeitures of Ulster were the *consequences*, not the causes of Rebellions; that *Tirone, Tirconnel, Maguire, and O'Dogherty*, had repeatedly violated their *oaths of allegiance*; that they could no longer be credited; that those Irish who were not notoriously involved in their treasons were not expelled; that the forfeited lands amounted by *Watson's, Chichester's, and Pynnar's Surveys*, to two millions of Acres, and that not more than 250,682 were disposed of to the new Planters, of whom *many thousands* were Catholics!* *Lord Castlehaven* was one of them,

* *Pynnar's* survey of the six forfeited Counties, made by authority in 1618—19, was published by *Harris*, Hibernica part 1, p. 73, Dublin 1747. Compare *Desid. Curios. Hib.* p. 506—513, with *Do.* p. 126, and No. cxxii, cxxxv. *Cox's*

and he planted 9000 acres with 3000 Catholic Irish, under twenty Gentlemen! King James granted the whole Barony of *Maghera Stefana* (6480 acres) in 1611, to *Connor-Roe-Maguire*, the Grandfather of that very *Lord Maguire* who was one of the leading Conspirators in 1641, allowing him also a pension of £200 a year for life; and these lands, with considerable privileges and patronage annexed to them, and a pension for life of £100 a year, were confirmed in June, 1627, to his son *Brian*, who was then created a Peer of Ireland! Sir *Phelim O'Nial* of Kinnard's Grandfather had a grant, June 20, 1605, of the entire territory called

account, v. 1, p. 14, is inaccurate; 5980 of the forfeited acres were restored to Maguire, and 1468 to several Irish. “In allotting the escheated lands, says Carte, great indulgence was used to the Irish, among whom were not excepted even such Irish as had been engaged in Tyrone’s rebellion, in hopes to gain them by such an act of confidence and favour. Their under-tenants too, and servantry, were allowed to be of their *own Country and Religion*, being exempted from the *Oath of Supremacy*, which those of the other planters were obliged to take.” v. 1, p. 15.

Gage's Country, and all that territory was confirmed to himself by a new Patent, dated May 6, 1629.

For many more instances of kindness I refer to the Irish Peerage, where it will be found, that the titles of almost all our Catholic Lords are creations of James I. and Charles II.

All the temperate and rational Catholic writers of this period, condemn the conduct of such foreign-influenced scribblers as Father *Conn*, Father *Geoghagan*, *O'Ferrall*, the treacherous *Enos*, who betrayed Waterford to Cromwell, *O'Sullivan*, *John Ponce*, the Bishops of *Ferns*, *Clogher*, &c. as rebellious, faithless, arrogant, and uncatholic in the extreme.

The author of *Cambrensis Eversus*, Lynch of Galway, whose memory every honest Irishman respects, expressly says that, whenever any material injury was offered to Catholics, Nugent Lord Westmeath inquired for a vessel to take him to England for redress; that if he could not procure a Packet, he went in an open boat; that he was always sure of obtaining either an

order for immediate redress, or for a new
revisal of the cause; and that therefore he was
invidiously nick-named *Nugent the messenger*.

86. Those who exaggerate* the partial and
transitory gusts of passion of those times,
seldom or never mention the provocations
of the foreign-influenced Clergy, in whose
conduct and principles they originated; neither
are they accurate in their dates; and in some
instances they treacherously antedate the
facts of which they complain, in order to
make it appear that no provocations preceded
them! insinuating that these persecutions were
not provoked by any misconduct on the part
of the Catholics, but owing entirely to *Anti-*

* “ On the 13th of July 1611, the former Proclamation
“ of July 1605, was revived, but so faintly executed, that I
“ find mention only of the *Titular of Down*, and four Friars, to
“ have been apprehended.” Cox, *ib.* p. 17.

“ Falkland’s Proclamation of 1629, was every where *baffled*
“ and *ridiculed*. It was *despised* by the Popish Clergy,
“ who exercised full jurisdiction, even to excommunication,
“ and erected an University in Dublin, in the face of the
“ Government, which felt itself *limited in this matter*, by in-
“ structions from England.” Cox, v. 2, p. 53. Usher’s Letters,
p. 423. *Hunt of the Fox*, Dublin 1683, p. 191.

papistical malignity. Thus they refer the *Proclamation* of 1629, to 1626,* and they omit the provocations which caused it! In order to come at the truth, we must recur to originals, confront the Protestant with the Catholic, and mistrust both. *Hammond l' Estrange* is the first who mentions the story of two Friars hanging themselves in *their own defence*;† and this story, which he gives with a sneer, and Borlace from him, is gravely copied from the latter by Curry, as an *Historical Fact*! —Curry refers this pretended fact to 1633, *l' Estrange* to 1630, and the author of “*Foxes and Firebrands*,” from Ware’s papers, to 1629, which is the genuine date.—L’Estrange wrote

* Curry’s Dialogue, p. 12—13.

† L’Estrange’s Annals, p. 116, year 1630. Robert Ware’s “*Foxes and Firebands*,” part 2, from p. 72, to p. 77, and the Council books of England and Ireland, which he quotes say, that in 1629, in consequence of seditious Sermons preached by the Carmelites of Cook-street, the mob rose, on S. Stephen’s day, to resist a warrant issued for the suppression of that Chapel, that they pelted the Archbishop, the Magistrates, and the Guards, and that this was the cause of the Proclamation which ensued. Dromore’s Sermon, October 23, 1629, p. 17. Usher’s Letters, p. 423. Hunt of the Fox, p. 196.

in England, far from the scene of action; but the last mentioned author wrote on the spot; and it appears from Strafford's Letters, that some of the foreign-influenced Clergy went so far as to threaten with excommunication any Catholic who voted for a Protestant Member of Parliament;* to administer oaths extrajudicially upon the Altar; and to deny Sacraments in Civil Causes; which compelled the Lord Deputy "to restrain them within the bounds of their own function, from meddling any more in that kind."†

87. Nothing can injure a good cause more than a disingenuous manner of relating only *one part* of an historical fact, and suppressing the other. This is the *Castabalaism* of those scurrilous and calumniating libels, which have

* Let. v. i, p. 267—270. Compare what has been said above, p. 34, 113, of Catholic Members of Parliament, with respect to the discipline of the Council of Trent.

† Ib. 203 and 248—For this he was threatened, in an Anonymous Libel, with a *Felton* or a *Ravillac*—See his Letters to Lord Cottington, ib. 371, and to the Earl of Newcastle, April 9, 1635, ib. 412.

at all times characterized the foreign-influenced Press, and brought such unmerited obloquy on the Religion and the History of our Ancestors.—It is notorious that the *Oath of Supremacy* did not exclude the Catholic members from the Parliaments of 1613, 1614, 1615, 1639, 1640, or 1641. Carte justly observes, that the Catholic Lawyers and Solicitors practised in Courts *as freely as Protestants*—Do we not know that they even took the lead; that they were the most active members in the house; that they were the *managers* of the Prosecution against unfortunate Strafford; that they were foremost in the affairs of the *limitation* and *Graces*, and in all the Political events of those times?—So far back as in 1615, when *Mr. Crooke*, Member for Baltimore, opposed their readmission to practice, saying that they were *corrupt in judgment*, he was ordered, by a Majority of *eighty-three* to *seventy-four*, to retract at *the Bar*; and not having done this to the Satisfaction of the house, it was voted that he should submit on *his Knee*; but re-

fusing to do that also, he was again brought to the bar, reprimanded by the Speaker, and committed to the Castle.*

Who can attribute the acts of local and temporary violence, which were practised occasionally in those days, to a pretended persecution on the score of Religion, which is utterly *disowned* by the State, and refuted by repeated acts of liberal condescension on the part of the King? The Nobility were not persecuted; the Gentry were not persecuted. The foreign-influenced Friars and Bishops, whose principles caused so much obloquy to their Religion, were; but they provoked persecution by their conduct, and they inflamed hatred by their principles.

88. We might as well attribute to Religion, the persecution of the *Irish Bards* at this time, as that of the foreign-influenced Clergy. But this is not pretended even by the foreign-influenced themselves. One of our most bitter

* Journals of the Irish H. of Com. v. 1. Curry himself acknowledges that this is a fair proof of the weight and consideration of the Popish party at that time. Hist. Mem. Lond. 1765, p. 37.

complaints against the English in the 16th and 17th centuries, is thus expressed in our Annals ad ann. 1546.—

Tadhcc na Cobhthaigh Oide Scol Er le Dan, do gabhail la Galluibh, 7 a beith raithe co leith illqimh hi Ccaislen an Righ tre na combaidh le Gaoidhhealaibh, co ro fobraidh a Oidh: ar a aoí terna slan fa deoidh.

* Thadeus O'Coffy, the chief professor of Poetry of Ireland, was taken by the English, (not by the Protestants,) and kept

* The importance which, in those times, as in all former ages, was annexed, not from Religious, but from political motives, to the Bardic Profession, may be inferred from the great care with which our Annalists always record the deaths of Bards, down to the reign of Charles I.—Thus—

Under the year 1554 where O'Coffy's death is mentioned, he is styled *chief Poet of Ireland and Albany*. "*Tadhcc mac Abda ai Chobhthaigh Priomh Oide Eireann 7 Alban le Dan decc.*" Thadeus O'Coffy, son of Hu: chief teacher of Ireland and Scotland, in Poetry, died.

1508. *Corbmac O'Cianain Suoi Senchadha; 7 fhir Dhana decc.*—Cormac O'Cianan a learned Historian and Poet, died.

1509. *Mac an Fíledh Giolla Crist mc Amhlaibh, Saol fhir Dhana decc.*—The son of the Poet Gill-christ, the son of Amlaf, a learned Poet, died.

1510. *O'Fíalan Fergal oide derscaighthe le dan 7 Eocchan mc Briain ui Uiccinn, Oide Eir le Dan decc.*—O'Fíalan Fergal, an ingenious teacher of Poetry, and Eogan the son of Brian O'Higgins, Preceptor of Ireland, in Poetry, died.

1511. *Dubhthach mac Dubhthaigh ui Duibhgennáin Saol le seanchas, fear Sonasa 7 saidhbhreasa moir decc.*—Dubhthach

a quarter and a half of a year in captivity, in the King's Castle, on account of his zeal for the *cause of Ireland*, so that his Professorship failed.—He escaped safe at length.

1548. *Saighir Chiarain 7 Cill Corbmaic do loscc 7 do bhris-*

son of Dubtach O'Duigenan a learned Historian, a man prosperous in his undertakings, and of great riches, died.

1512. *Niall mac Cuinn mc Aodha buidhe mc Brian Ball. i Neill, tigarna Trin Conghail, fer einn. coitchinn, 7 medaighthe ord 7 ecclais, fer aghmhar aitheasach, na tuc cios no comna do cloinn Neill no do cloinn n Dalaigh na d fhiar ionaid Righ Sax an, fer cian foda fen 7 Saoghal, fer ercna eolach ar gach n ealadhain et. Shenchus, Dhan, 7 Sheinm do ecc.*—Nial the son of Con, son of Hu: the yellow, son of Brian O'Nial the stammerer, Chief of the third division of Congal, (the chief Castle was Belfast, ib. ann. 1512) a man of bounty universal, and who added to the properties of the Regular orders, and of the Church, a man of great prosperity and good counsel, who never paid tribute nor obedience to the *O'Nials*, nor to the *O'Dalys*, nor to any one of the *Vicegerents* of the Kings of the Saxons, a man of long seniority and venerable age, a man of great quickness of apprehension, and learning in all sciences, in History, Poetry, and Music, died.

Ibid. *Tuathal O'Cleirigh mac Taidhcc chaim, Saoi hi sean-chus 7 hi n Dan, fer tighe aoidheadh coitchinn do threnaibh 7 do thruaghaibh decc.*—Tuathal O'Cleri, the son of Thadeus, surnamed the crooked, learned in History and Poetry, a man who kept a house of hospitality, generally for the rich and for the poor, died,

1514. *O'Dalaigh Corcumruadh, Tadhg mc Donnch. mc Taidhg mc Cerbhaill, Oide le dan, fer tighe aoidheadh coitchinn decc.*—O'Daly of Corcomroe, Thadeus son of Donchad,

et la Saxanchoibh 7 ta hua Cceorbhail.—Salghir the Monastery of S. Kieran, was burned and broken down by the Saxons, (not by the Protestants) and by O'Carrol.

The same Annals relate the destruction of *Chuanmacnois*,

son of Thadeus, son of Carroll, teacher of Poetry, a man who kept a house of general hospitality, died.

1517. *Pilip mac Toirr. Meguidhir Saoi chinne feadhna decc.*—Philip the son of Torlach Maguire, a learned singer of historical events, died.

1518. *O'Heodhosa ciuthruaidh, mac Athairne Saoi fhir dhana 7 fear tighe Aoidheth coitchind do ecc.*—O'Hosy of Cithro, the son of Atharne, a learned Poet, and a man who kept a house of general hospitality, died.

Ibid. Murchad O'Maoleachlainn, Saoi Eireann ar chrodhacht 7 air ceandus feadhna do mharbhadh.—Murchad O'Maoleachlainn, one of the learned of Ireland in playing on the harp, and in singing historical events, was killed.

1519. *Maolin mac Torna ui Mhavilchonnair, Ollamh sil Muireadhaigh, fear lan do rath; 7 deici, fear do thoghadar Gearalthaigh agus Goill tar ollamhnaibh Eireann, fear do gleibheadh seoid 7 maoine o gach aon, for acuingeadh do ecc.*—Maolin the son of Torna O'Maolconar, the Poet of the descendants of Muredac, (that is of the O'Conor's of Connacht,) a man of great merit and ingenuity, a man who was chosen by the Fitzgeralds, and the foreigners, in preference to the other Poets of Ireland, a man who used to receive ornaments and rich presents from all according to their means, died.

1522. *Ro marbhadh ann dan dias d'ollamhnaibh Dhomhnaill .i. Diarmait mc Taidhcc chaim, in chleir saoi sheanchadha 7 fhir dhana, fear tighe aoidheadh coitchinn do thren. 7 do thrug. 7 Heah mc Heahna .i. mac mc an Bhaird.*—This year were killed besides two of the Poets of O'Donnell, Diarmait

in the following words, A. D. 1552,—“ *Inradh 7 orccain*
 “ *Cluanmacnois la Gallaibh Atholuin 7 na cluicc mra da*
 “ *bhreith as an ccloiccteach, ni ro faccabhadh fos clocc beag no*
 “ *mor, ionkaig na Altoir na leabhar, na gemadh fua gloine hi*
 “ *ffuinneoicc o bhalla na h Eccaili amach nach ruccadh ciste.*
 “ *Ba truagh tra an gníomh sin indradh Cathrach Chiarain an*
 “ *naomh Erlaimh.*”—Cluanmacnois plundered and ravaged
 by the *Gals*,—i. e. the *Foreigners*, not the *Protestants*,—of
 Athlone, and the great bells carried off from the Steeple.
 They did not leave a small or a great bell, an image, or an
 altar, or a book, or hardly a pane of glass in any of the win-
 dows, from one end to the other of the Church, which they
 did not carry off.—That was a lamentable deed, the plunder-
 ing of the City of Kiaran, the Holy Patron !

the son of Thadeus the crooked, a Clergyman learned in
 History and Poetry, a man who kept a house of hospitality
 universally for the rich and the poor, and Aed the son of
 Aed, that is, the son of the son of the Bard.

1524. *Ruaidhri mac Briain mc Philip Meguidhir Saoi Címh*
fhedhna decc. O'Breislein Eogan occ, mac Eog. Ollamh Meg-
uidhir le breitheamnas decc. Mac Rithbeartaigh Ollamh Mag-
uidhir le dann ecc.—Roderic the son of Brian, son of Philip
 Maguire, a learned singer of History, died. O'Brislen
 Eogan the young, son of Eogan, the teacher of the Maguires
 intexpounding the Brehon laws, died. Mac Riverty, teacher
 of the Maguire's in Poetry, died.

1527. *O'Clairigh i. an Giolla Riabhach, mac Taidhcc Cam*
Saoi le healadhain, hisenchus, in dan, 7 hi leighionn, fer suimh
seidhhir, &c. 7 a ecc.—O'Clery, that is, Gildas the Grey, son
 of Thadeus the crooked, a learned man in the Sciences, in
 Historical knowledge, in Poetry, and in Theological reading,
 a man respected, and rich, died.

89. In all these instances the Irish Annals attribute the calamities of their Country, not to Religious warfare, but to the old hostility between the two nations.

Leland indeed, servilely copying Cox,* informs us that the Irish, provoked by Lord Grey's sacrilegious destruction of the Church of Down, and the Monuments of the Saints, *Patrick, Bridget, and Columba*, every where rebelled. But if any rebellion ensued in consequence of the sacrilege committed at Down, it would have been noticed in our Annals, in the interval between 1538, when that sacrilege was committed, and Grey's execution in 1540. Now, no insurrection occurs in that interval, but O'Nial's in 1539, and I have elsewhere shewn that that was not a war of Religion.†

Cox indeed endeavours to make *O'Nial* on this occasion a *Champion for the Papacy*, but he acknowledges that the Lord Justice Brereton, collecting his army against him, was

* Cox, v. 1, p. 255, and silly Mac Geoghagan!

† See this Historical Address, p. 23, &c.

joined by 2000 of the inhabitants of the Pale, whereof many were Catholic *Clergymen*, who knew well that the object of the Rebels was not Religion.*

*The erroneous Policy of King James's reign
with respect to Ireland.*

90. When I consider the dauntless spirit of the Irish, and that James, on his accession, reduced the army from 20,000, to 7035 foot, and 212 horse,† I cannot help wondering that, in a Country which had been for ages a scene of confusion, among a people, inured, as the Irish were, to incalculable hardships, and who spoke a language as remote from the English, as that of Canaan, from which it is derived, *He* should have been able to transplant the old inhabitants from one Province to another,

* Ib. p. 261. Ware's Annals, p. 156—162. Grey's Impeachment, in Cox, v. 1, p. 266. Hollingshed, 102.

† It dwindled down after almost to nothing. In 1622, when Sir *Dudley Diggs* was sent to inquire, not above 2000 remained! Carte, v. 1, p. 45, &c.

to plant the greater part of the six escheated Counties with strangers, to deprive the great Irish Chiefs of their hereditary power over their Clans, to establish the dependency of all freehold property on the Crown alone, and to root out of the North of Ireland, the most powerful factions, which had kept Ulster in a state of war and anarchy, throughout a period of 600 years.

If he had persecuted the Religion of the people with *blood-hounds*, and *intolerable fines*, and digging the *bodies of Catholics from their graves*, and driving *stakes through those bodies* as marks of ignominy, he could never, *never* have effected all this.

91. The truth is, that *James* was the first of the English Kings, who could pretend in any degree, to the title of Legislator of Ireland.—I do not admire his character; his pedantry was odious; his embassy to the *Synod of Dort*, and his foolish controversy with *Grotius* and *Arminius*, about predestination, was unworthy of a great Monarch; but with regard to Ireland, if he had not committed the faults indicated in

Columbanus, No. II, and yielded in some instances, to the clamours of bigotry, he would undoubtedly have been, what Hume styles him, the first *Legislator of Ireland*; Sir J. Davis's character of him, however exaggerated, might then have been permitted, on the whole, to pass for historical truth; and Ireland would have escaped the calamities which have overwhelmed her ever since.*

But his *enormous error* consisted in emancipating the *middle* Irish from their Chiefs, and leaving the *lowest* orders in a worse condition than he found them! The former were made freeholders; the latter became impatient under a system which compelled them to labour for subsistence, and rendered them dependent in many respects, on the *middle* free-

* I do not think it can be proved that Protestant England has at any time been so unjust to Ireland, as Catholic England has been. The conduct of the foreign-influenced faction, caused the enactment of a horrible Code of Penal Laws, after the revolution. But the confiscations of Irish property, *before the Irish took any oath of allegiance*, during the reigns of the Catholic Kings of England, have been enormous; and the Statutes of Kilkenny, of Henry VI, and of Edw. IV, are pretty specimens of Catholic English legislation!

holders, from whom they could not expect as much lenity as from their ancient Chiefs; from *Clans* and *followers*, they became nests of thieves, and knots of conspirators; and they eagerly looked out for any Religious pretext, any opportunity of restoring the ancient system, which enabled them to live, by rapine and pasturage, on the fat of the land.

The foreign-influenced intriguers availed themselves of this oversight, inculcating the doctrine of *blind submission* to Episcopal Censures, and recurring to *Spiritual* means, by which Sir Pheilm O'Nial's army increased, in one fortnight, to 30,000 men!—The turbulent spirit of the rabble was occasionally fed from abroad, with the hope of an invasion; and when *Father Mac Crodden*, declared in his Sermon at the *Glinn*, in *Maguire's Country*, May 1613, that *O'Nial* was coming, with an army of 18000 men, they kissed his garments, and made a collection for him of 2000 cows!*

* In consequence of his practices, Alexander Mac Donnald, Brian Cross O'Nial, &c. conspired against the State, and being detected, taken, and tried at the Assizes of Derry, were

92. There were at this time in Ireland, a great number of young, idle, active fellows, and second sons of the Ulster and Connaught Chieftains, who were unprovided with any livelihood, eager for confusion, and capable of any enterprise the most rash and daring, whenever an opportunity should occur. James knew this well; but instead of employing them, by a wise policy, in the cultivation and service of their Country, instead of directing their energies to objects of commerce, and national improvement, he allowed Spain to sweep them away by whole regiments, when he was in treaty for his son's match with the *Infanta*; and though Ebher Mac Mahon confessed to Sir G. Radcliff, in 1634, that he had been for several years concerting measures with foreign Courts for a rebellion in Ireland, yet rather than encourage Irish industry, by laws

changed in 1616. Desid. Cur. Hib. t. 1, p. 395. Carte's Orm. v. 1, p. 21. Ryves's Regimen, p. 54.—O'Sullivan styles this a sham plot. But compare the *Hibernica*, part 1, p. 131—133, with Mr. Trumball's Letter from Brussels, ib. p. 133, and Sterne's Coeval MS. fol. No. 4, p. 612.

which might have rendered Ireland rich and powerful, he and his successor permitted O'Nial's Officers to reside and to recruit in Ireland, for Spain, down to the very day of the rebellion in 1641! *

Those Catholic Members of the Irish Parliament, who well knew the difference between their Religion and foreign intrigue, complained bitterly of these proceedings. They saw the danger, that was likely to ensue from

* O'Nial, O'Donnell, Maguire, and their followers had splendid allowances from the Courts of Rome and Madrid—*"per singulos menses quingentis nummis aureis."* See O'Sullivan, fol. 209.—Old O'Nial died at Rome, July 20, 1616, ib. fol. 266; O'Donnell also at Rome 1617; Maguire at Genoa, on his way from Rome to Madrid, ib. 209.—O'Nial's only son Hu: died without issue, in 1641, whilst he was preparing to invade Ireland. The command of the expedition then devolved upon Owen Roe.

I have seen original Letters from the young Earls, dated Brussels, March 19, 1627, to Urban VIII, which are preserved in the *Passionei* collection, at the Vallicellian Library, Rome. In these they entreat that none but an Ulsterman be appointed to the Primacy of Ireland, on the death of Hu: Cavellus, and they present to that See the Rev. Bonaventure Maguire, who was O'Nial's first Cousin by the Mother.—Hu: O'Nial's sepulchral inscription at Rome, refers his death to Sept. 21, 1641. Compare Corpe, ann. 1641. (1)

the principles of the Ultramontane school; they urged, in the Session of 1640, that persons attainted of high treason, had command in the service of Spain; that they derived titles from places within the realm of Ireland; and ought not to be supplied with such formidable means for disturbing the tranquility of the State. Cardinal Richlieu was then fomenting the troubles in Scotland and London, by the intrigues of *Chambers*, and *Bellievre*; he had emissaries in Ireland also; he informed the Irish agents in France, that their Countrymen were but a *rope of sand*, unless they formed a holy *league*, like that of the Guises against the Hugonots!—Upon this model, the solemn league and covenant was formed in Scotland; and upon the same model, the massacre of *S. Barthelemi*, went through a second edition in Ireland! *

* Compare the *Ambassades de Monsr. d'Estrades*, Amsterd. 1718, with Sir's *Mémoire recondit*, v. 8. p. 799, and his *Mercurio*, l. 1, p. 199, the Journals of the Irish House of Commons, July 30, 1641, Nelson, v. 2, p. 426, and Carte's *Orm.* v. 1, p. 83, 89 and v. 2, p. 426.

93. Yes—The Catholic Religion, pure in its *genuine* principles, chaste in its morality, heavenly and discerning in its subordination to *just* commands, became a stalking-horse for clerical ambition, and the dearest interests of the Catholics of Ireland were sacrificed to intrigues!—To these, and not to that religion, are to be attributed the vile equivocations, the perjuries, and violations of faith, which have ever since been the *principal*, if not the only cause of our exclusion from the blessings of the Constitution!—The good sense of England, would never quarrel with Ireland about her Religion, *well understood*; they are only the *abuses* of that Religion, which have over-

Nelson's Historical Collections are very valuable with respect to his Irish narrative, not only because he was a man of great integrity himself, and because he gives originals, but also because he was enabled to select such originals as contained the *truth*. There are silly writers who argue from originals as if they were all Gospel, *because they are originals*! Nelson says in his Preface, that "he had the happiness to be assisted by the Dr. of Ormond, whose great character of *unspotted loyalty and honour, will supersede all manner of dispute of the integrity of the relation.*"

whelmed it with obloquy; and these *abuses* are self-evident to any man, who will but attentively read *Fleury's* Discourses on Ecclesiastical History, where the grain is separated from the chaff.—Perhaps there is no History, by which *Fleury's* observations are better illustrated, than by the History of Ireland.

Historical narrative from 1646 to the Revolution.

94. Let us take a rapid view of the leading facts, from 1641 to the revolution, and then conclude with that inference, which it is the great object of these sheets to establish, namely, that—it is absolutely necessary to regulate the discipline of the Catholic Church of Ireland, by a Code of *laws*, which shall restrain the abuse of *Spiritual* power, according to the intent and spirit of the ancient Canons of the Christian Church, *laws*, founded upon the *four first General Councils*, which have been received by the Church of England, in the 2d of Elizabeth.

It is now pretty well ascertained that the confusions of 1641, &c, are not to be ascribed either to the pretended Massacre of Inland Mages, or to Protestants hunting Irish Catholics with *blood-hounds*,* or to their digging up the graves of Catholics, and driving stakes through their bodies near highways,† or to

* The first who relates this fable, is the anonymous writer of *Colonia*, 1617, mentioned above, p. 261, in his Preface p. 28, and he gives it expressly on *hear-say*, "*fertur a quodam Vice-comite factitatum in Comitatu Midensi, anno 1616.*"—Yet the foreign-influenced faction mention it as *historical fact*, though they confess that this is their only authority LeGurry's *Hist. Mem.* p. 38, and the Letter to Hume in the 1st and 2d Numbers of the *London Museum*, 1763. Gracious God!—Is Catholicity to be defended by falsehood? Is Religion to be supported by immorality? Is Ireland never to have an *historian*?

† This story comes from the same forge. But the inventor talks of it rather as a menace in *terrorem* "*appellandi, exhumandi,*" not *sepulti* or *exhumati*. He adds indeed that this was done in *some* instances; but he neither mentions these instances, or any authority whatsoever; nor does any contemporary writer support his assertion; and he himself feels sore and awkward, asserting that the King interposed his authority to prevent it. "*In multo plures poena recideret, nisi Regis in Comitibus benignitas intercessisset.*" *ibid.*

Let any man of common candour compare this with Curry's account of the Sunday tax, "*so rigorously enforced, that in*

the Oath of Supremacy, which excluded no Catholic from Parliament; or to the enquiry into defective titles, which the King had prohibited, and the Council abolished; or to any persecution on the score of Religion, which every one was free to follow in any form he pleased, provided he made no tumultuary display of it. No Protestant, even in those days of anger, when the sword was drawn, would

“Cavan alone, the fines on Catholics for not attending Church, amounted to £8000 in one year, (1615) an immense sum in those days!

“When some miserable people in the County of Meath, not being able to pay this tax on their consciences, had fled from the cruel Collectors into dens and caverns, furious blood-hounds were often sent after them, followed by a Sheriff and his posse of disbanded Soldiers, equally furious and unrelenting.—Ecclesiastical censures, on account of this Sunday tax, were executed with the greatest rigour. So that those that lay under them were constantly thrown into gaols, and if they happened to die, they were denied Christian burial, and thrown into graves dug in the highways, where, as a mark of the greatest ignominy, stakes were driven through their bodies; or if they happened to be buried by stealth, their bodies were dug up and treated in the ignominious manner before mentioned.” Curry ib. p. 39!

Yet there is no authority for all this but the *hear-say* of a man who was then in Germany!—Such are our Irish Historians! God bless them!

have *deliberately* refused to any Catholic the liberty of receiving the Sacraments!—Amidst the *atrocities* of Orangemen, during the last rebellion, no such liberty was refused; Catholic Clergymen were even paid by the Government to administer the last consolations of Religion, even to the most guilty of the Rebels; and it seems to have been reserved for the *pious* malignity of the *Castabals* of our times, to make the Sacraments subservient to their passions, by denying them to persons who are not disposed to submit to *uncanonical censures*, or to violate the Laws of history, in compliance with their desires.*

95. Falsehood is a disgrace to every Religion, and will ultimately turn to the shame, the detriment, and confusion, of every cause in which it is engaged. I loathe and abhor it—not merely as repugnant to my religion, but also from natural aversion; from my observing its fatal effects, in all ages and histories; and, in this instance, from my thorough

* See above p. 8, 15, &c.

conviction, that the confusions of 1641 are to be ascribed to the causes which I have assigned in *Columbanus* No. IV. from page 84 to the end; I mean those maxims of foreign jurisdiction and intrigue, by which the *Castabalas* arrogated to themselves *exclusive* power of managing, in *private* Synods, by uncanonical censures and excommunications, *all matters* relating to the *temporal* concerns, falsely called *Spiritual*, of the Irish Church.—“*Hinc illæ lachrymæ*,” says the pious and Patriotic Lynch.* From this source, as from *Pandora’s* box, flowed an Iliad of calamities to the Irish nation!—The Roman *Court* claimed the sovereignty of Ireland; she suffered many books to be published, with flaming approbations prefixed to them, asserting this claim; and she therefore censured *oaths of allegiance* to King James, as repugnant to Catholic faith!†

* See his words in the first part of this *Address*, p. 141, &c.

† King *James’s* oath of *allegiance*, was condemned by *four successive Pontiffs*, down to the revolution, and no foreign-influenced Bishop dares approve of it to this day. Nor is there one of them who would dare to condemn the Bull Uni-

A contemporary author observes, that the calamities of Ireland were owing to the knavery of those who instilled into the simple and unsuspecting minds of the Irish, the vilest prejudices against the honour, and integrity, of ~~two~~ of the greatest ornaments that the Irish nation can boast of,—*Ormond* a Protestant, and *Clanricard* a Catholic; they misrepresented the former, as if he had sold Dublin to the Parliament, and the latter, as if he had deserved the excommunication which they so impudently denounced against him !*

genitus, or the present Pope's Bull above mentioned, p. 4. 5. For the Pope's pretensions to the sovereignty of Ireland, see the 1st part of this *Address*, p. 64, 70, 87, 94. 100, 104, 114, 185, 190, 204, 248, to the end, and above, p. 292.

* Heath's Chronicle, v, 2, p. 458. " They twice violated
 " their public faith with Ormond. They broke a peace
 " signed and proclaimed both at Dublin and Kilkenny. They
 " then raised the standard of rebellion; marched against the
 " King's Viceroy, (under the conduct of the Nuncio) be-
 " sieged Dublin, wasted the King's Quarters all round, and
 " broke the solemn engagement between Clanricard and
 " Preston, as soon as they found that, upon belief of their
 " return to their duty, Ormond's treaty with the Parliament
 " was broken off! Could it be expected that after such

As soon as the intelligence of the 1641 rebellion reached Connacht, the Gentry were extremely alarmed, lest the *Graces* and the *Act of limitation*, granted by the King and Council, should be rejected by the Parliament. Lord Clanricard, the most popular man then in the Province, assured them that, provided they did their duty, they had nothing to fear; and, impelled by loyalty, he obtained a *Declaration* to that purpose from the King.*

State of Connacht when the Rebellion broke out.

96. Connacht is by nature the strongest of our Provinces; it then abounded in *idle swordsmen*, more *numerous* and *dangerous* than any in

“conduct, any man would trust to them any more? They
 “were not ashamed, at the *same time*, both to annul the peace,
 “and yet to acknowledge that *Lord Muskerry, Sir R. Talbot,*
 “*Sir L. Dillon, Mr. Brown, Mr. Belling*, and the rest of their
 “Supreme Council, *whom they had imprisoned for making that*
 “*peace*, yet had *neither exceeded their instructions*, nor done
 “*any thing misbecoming honest men!*” *Ib.* p. 459.

Carte agrees, v. 1, p. 499, and *their own solemn Act* is decisive of this intriguing contradiction!

* Carte, *ib.* p. 214.

of the most elevated and religious characters that our native Country ever produced. Luckily for him and for Ormond, posterity has little more to do, than to consider the conduct and characters of the vile perjurers, the *fæd-fragi*, by whom they are calumniated; they were *notoriously* men, who stopped at nothing whereby they could advance their own uncontrollable dominion; men who denied to Ireland the Gallican liberties; and who claimed for themselves *exclusively*, a right of judging and deciding on *all matters* touching the Irish Church.

Clanricard was the *only* Catholic Viceroy that Ireland had seen since the reformation. One would imagine that this circumstance alone should have restrained these intriguers; and, since one of the greatest of all the grievances complained of, and exaggerated by themselves, was removed, by his appointment to succeed Ormond, that now at least they would combine with the Government, and expiate their former guilt, by the most enthusiastic display of loyalty and zeal.

98. But though *Clanricard* was a Catholic, he was not the sort of Catholic who would serve their purposes. He was not such a man as *Glamorgan*, to whom, in consequence of his vile servility, the Lord Lieutenancy had been promised by the Pope; or as *Antrim*, who would have perpetrated any dishonourable, or perfidious act, to obtain it through the influence of *Rinuccini*. *Clanricard* would not tamely submit to arbitrary censures; nor would he suffer uncanonical excommunications to be issued, or affixed to the doors of Churches, without first instituting a rigorous inquiry, whether they were *just* or *unjust*.

Having observed that every Catholic writer, who dared to write in favour of Ormond, was censured by the foreign-influenced faction, he was cautious, not to allow them, as the Catholic Committee have lately allowed them, *Lord French in the Chair*, to arrogate to themselves *exclusively*, the power of deciding on *all matters* touching the discipline of the Irish Church; a formidable doctrine, which they have maintained in their recent Synods,

and Pamphlets, and which would lay all Catholic Ireland prostrate at their feet, if Columbanus had not exposed such lofty pretensions, to the indignation they deserve.

Clanricard possessed a mind which could not be subdued by clamour, or surprised by assertion. He was one of those sincere, honourable, and truly religious Catholics, who adventured their fortunes in the war, without any other design than that of satisfying their consciences; one of those whom the greatest temptation in the world would not have induced to swerve from their integrity.

Possessed of that courage which originates only in the *consciousness* of duty, he shewed on all emergencies, a spirit which nothing could daunt; and “his name, says “Carte, ought to be conveyed down to posterity, as one of the rarest patterns of honour and virtue, that the age he lived in, or any other could possess.”

I may, perhaps, be allowed, without deviating from my subject, to boast, that my Ancestor in a direct line, *Hu. O'Conor Don* of

Ballintober, was appointed by the Gentry of the County of Roscommon, to wait on him at *Portumna* Castle, with a letter from them, praying him to “join with them, *hearts and hands, in one right way, faithfully and loyally to serve God, the King, and the Country, and to command their forces in Chief.*”*

* This letter is dated Jan. 23, 1641, old style, and may be seen in *Clanricard's Memoirs*, fol. p. 67.

Sir *Hu Og O'Conor*, died in possession of his Castle, in 1662. A letter from my late Grandfather to Brigadier General O'Conor, of Rouen, dated Nov. 14, 1758, gives the following account of the disposal of his property.

“The settlement of the Ballintober estate, was lately discovered in *Lord Athenry's* papers, it is dated August 30, 1662, by *Hugh*, the Son of *Calluagh* or *Charles*, on his return from foreign Countries; he died in Dublin a few days after his arrival, and left his estate, in failure of his Son, to *Hu: Oge, of Castlereah's* family, from whom is lineally descended the present O'Conor of Cloonalis; in failure of them, to his first Cousin, Major *Owen O'Conor, of Belanagare*, whom he appointed one of his Executors; in failure of him and his brother *Charles*, to *Roger Fitz Bryan Roe*; and, in failure of all those, to the male issue of *Hu: Mergagh O'Conor, of Castleruby*, from whom the present *Tumona* family is lineally descended.

This instrument, now in my possession, lying nearly a whole century undiscovered, occasioned the Ballintober castle and estates falling into the hands of the Burkes; and

He could put these Gentlemen right with regard to the real power of the Pope; for it appears by the shrewd *queries* which he put to Rinuccini, and by his letters, that he knew that the Pope's *censures* were not received in England, in the most Catholic times; and that though the Pope has, by *divine institution*, a right of general inspection, for the enforcement of *canonical* discipline *universally received*, he has no power of arbitrarily subjecting those laws to his *ipse dixit*; but is bound to observe them himself, with as much subordination, as the poorest Catholic in Christendom. He knew that neither the Pope's presence, nor that of his Legates, or Nuncios, nor his assent or confirmation was, in any degree necessary, to give additional weight to the Decrees of

limitation I fear, lies now against the recovery of it, through the inactivity or despondency of the present rightful heir. The *O'Malones* have been consulted upon it, and doubt not of the recovery of it, if proof can be alleged of legal claims made to bar limitation. This Hu: was the last of the family of Ballintober, I mean of its eldest Sons; his Father defended the castle gallantly during the whole of the civil wars."

National Councils,* and that the religion of his Ancestors, could not be preserved in Ireland, otherwise than by fair dealing, and by moderation.†

Of the character which I thus feel myself bound in truth and justice to give to my illustrious Countryman, the following letters, as well as the whole tenor of his life and correspondence afford evidence; which neither the spiritual envy of the times he lived in, nor the

* “ L’ illustre P. de Marca, Archeveque de Paris, observe
 “ avec raison que le presence des Legats n’ estoit pas necessaire
 “ pour appuyer d’ aucune autorité les Constitutions faites dans
 “ les Conciles ou dans les Assemblees generales de l’ Empire
 “ Francois. Il etablit meme qu’ il n’ y a eu de *Canons de l’*
 “ *Eglise Gallicane* confirmes dans ces derniers temps, que ceux
 “ de *Leptines* et de *Francfort*, et que si les Legats ont quelque-
 “ fois assiste a des Assemblees publiques, ils avoient été
 “ deputés par les Pontifes Romains vers nos Rois, pour des
 “ raisons etrangeres aux deliberations qui devoient se faire, et
 “ qu’ on leur avoit fait l’ honneur de les admettre dans les
 “ Assemblees publiques, parce qu’ ils s’ estoient trouves a la
 “ Cour dans le temps qu’ elles se tenoient.” Baluzii Præfatio
 ad Capitularia, Latine et Gallice, p. 11, No, xiv.

† See his Letter to the Catholic A. Bishop of Tuam, April 8th, 1642. “ The Rebels, says he, make religion the cloak
 “ to cover their foul misdemeanours, disguising their deceits
 “ with a formal piety, &c. Moderation would have pre-
 “ served mercy,” &c. Ib. p. 114—115.

odium so undeservedly affixed to his religion, nor the theological hatred of the foreign-influenced faction, could obliterate or impair.

Doctor J. Burke, elect Irish Bishop of Clonfert, to Lord Clanricard.

Right Honourable,

God protect you.—This sudden rupture, the cause of your absence, I little expected, and less your honour going *that way*, without long deliberation; if you did not intend your journey rather to terrify, than venture the dispute to spring from your *suspicion* of the justness of the cause. And the manner of your Lordship's going, without being well appointed, required many consultations, and settled heads of the Clergy and Laity to conclude it.

If it be a question of *religion*, as it is, by the definition of a *great Council of Bishops* in the North, you could not safely go to oppose it positively, before long discussion requiring time, &c. &c.

Walcourt, April 9, 1642.

The answer,—from Lord Clanricard's hand.

“Being hastily called abroad, I returned answer by message, that I was so fully satisfied both of the *justness* and the necessity of the enterprize I had undertaken, (against the Rebels,) that I found it neither necessary nor safe to spend time in dispute, in affairs wherein my duty, loyalty, and honour, were so highly concerned; and that I could not value the *professions* of any other in their loyalty or religion, whose proceedings were so contrary to both.”*

* Ibid. p. 115.

The Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, the Bishop of Elphin, and the Bishop of Clonfert, to Lord Clanricard, on St. Patrick's day, 1642. Sent by the Rev. Oliver Burke.

Many complaints and miserable grievances represented to us, inviting the interposition of our *spiritual* authority for the satisfaction of the grieved, which we thought expedient and necessary, in discharge of our functions, &c. most humbly beseeching you to be pleased to vouchsafe, out of your wisdom and maturity, *present surcease of farther pillaging*, or preying upon the goods or chattles of the Catholic inhabitants of this your Government, &c. and not to give way to the weakening of the Catholic cause, and absolute destruction and desolation of this your native Country, by the entertainment of any Protestant forces, &c.

We hope that our Ecclesiastical jurisdictions be made useful by *humble requests*, fatherly admonitions, and friendly intercessions, rather than by the *extremity of Ecclesiastical Censures*, which we would be loath to execute any way, whereby your Lordship may be displeased, whom we highly honour and love, and will ever pray for your success, and remain

Your Lordship's most *humble Servants*,

Malachias, Tuam.

Keilymur,

Fr. Boetius, Elphin.

April 17, 1642.

J. de Burke, Clonfert.

Lord Clanricard's answer.

Reverend Fathers, &c.

Before I took up arms, or stirred from home, my castles and lands were surprised, no restitution offered of my arms, and particular goods detained, companies and forces raised,

and monies levied in several baronies ; the King's authority shaken off; the goods of his Majesty's subjects taken by violence, their persons assaulted and murdered, his forts besieged; the gates of Galway shut, all passages thither stopped, and maintained by force ; the disease being grown to so high a distemper, can it be wondered that the remedies have an acerbity with them ? and if they must be frequently applied, *let those answer for it* that have been the contrivers, actors, and *are still maintainers* of these troubles, &c.

I cannot but much admire, what I hear spoken by many, that *desperation* should now make that cause and war lawful, that was at first grounded upon wrong and bad foundations. For my part, I will hope in the mercy of Almighty God for the preservation of his Church ; the arming herself (not with temporal power, but) with those accustomed pious and (truly) *spiritual* weapons, which hath ever maintained her flourishing in all ages. I will never doubt the mild and gracious inclinations of his Majesty, not only to grant pardon for their offences, but redress of their grievances, if they timely and modestly apply themselves, to give him a right information of the causes of their fears and apprehensions, that brought them to appear refractory and disobedient ; and if this be not held a fit proceeding, I assure you, that until his Majesty's commands and pleasure be further declared to me, I have no other course to take, but to make use of his power and authority, to reduce them to their former obedience, being strictly obliged thereto, upon *forfeiture of life, honour, and fortune*, by the duty of my place, and *oath of allegiance*, from which I presume *you cannot absolve me*, and not being absolved, neither your judgments, dispositions, or *power*, will direct you to set forth any *Ecclesiastical Censure* against me, or those who shall assist me for his Majesty's service ; for if those resolutions be taken, I shall not only appeal to higher authority, but proceed to other designs I have laid, in case I be put to ex-

tremity; and it may be worthy your best considerations not to increase too far, or exasperate one that, in his public actions, and thoughts, hath ever been a most affectionate, faithful, and obedient child to the Church, and by a late *declaration* hath published, for the satisfaction of all men, my constant resolution therein, and if any shall persist obstinate, I must hereafter, for my own justification, produce my present expressions into judgment against them.

Your humble Servant,

April 19, 1642.

Clanricard and St. Albans.

After what has been said, these letters require no comment.—Were the Catholic Committee—such as it was—when they received the Synodical Resolution that Bishops *exclusively*, can judge of *all matters* relating to the Church, aware of such letters as these? Were they acquainted with the melancholy history of their Country?

Treaty with Preston—violated.

99. Disgusted by the excommunications and censures of 1646, *Clanricard* rode to Preston's camp at Lucan, on the 11th of November, when the Nuncio arrived there to spirit up that army against Ormond, and entreated

that they would recal what they had done in violation of the public faith; pledging his word for the repeal of all Penal Laws; promising that the Queen and Prince should confirm the Articles he now proposed; and engaging that the King of France also should guarantee them.

The Earls *Fingal* and *Westmeath* waited on the Nuncio, with letters signed by *Preston*, and by the principal Gentry of Leinster, pressing him most earnestly to comply.—In vain.—Spiritual pride seldom yields to advice; the Nuncio replied, that Bishops exclusively were to judge of *all matters* touching the Irish Church; he summoned his attendants, made his bow, gave his blessing, and drove off to the Episcopal Assembly at Kilkenny; leaving the Nobility to provide as well as they could, against the terrors of spiritual censures, and foreign-influenced decrees.

100. Provoked by his obstinacy, *Preston* and his Officers entered into a solemn engagement, which they signed, “to observe the late peace, “with Clanricard’s concessions and securities,

“and to join Ormond against *all* his enemies,
 “and all those who should not, *upon the same*
 “*terms*, submit to that peace.”—And now
 Clanricard hoped that he might yet rescue his
 Country from ruin, his King from danger, and
 his religion from disgrace.

Animated by his zeal, he forgot a lesson,
 which he might have learned from Selden, who
 was himself an Episcopalian, that “Bishops
 never retract any *resolution* they have once
 adopted in Synod;”* a lesson of which he was
 soon after reminded only by experience, which
 generally comes too late.

101. As soon as the intelligence of Preston’s
 agreement reached Kilkenny, the Bishops or-
 dered him, December 5, under pain of *excommu-*
nication, to disband his army.—Alarmed by this
 formidable menace, he submitted on the 10th,
 and wrote to *Clanricard*, who was then on his
 route to join him, that he must violate the word
 of a Soldier, and submit to a Synodical Decree!

In the first transports of rage Clanricard

* Selden, Table-Talk, fol. 3, t. 2, p. 2070.

called him a *Traitor*; the Catholic Lords, *Westmeath*, *Taafe*, and *Castlehaven*, who had joined him, covered their faces with their hands; the descendant of *Baldwin* blushed for his Country;* the Catholic Religion wrapt herself up in a veil of deep mourning; and, to this day, Ireland shrinks with horror from the remembrance of her own history.

102. Ormond was now reduced to the utmost extremity; and yet, ere he would surrender to the Parliament, he sent *Dan: O'Nial* to *Clonmel*, where the Bishops were assembled, with a proposal for a cessation for *two* months, to be continued for *twelve*, if they would engage to use sincere endeavours for the renewal of the peace, on the best *additional* terms that could possibly be obtained.

He employed *D. O'Nial*, being the nephew of their favourite General, and a man of very engaging manners, and insinuating address; the

* *Clanricard's Pedigree* is derived from *Baldwin*, by *Lynch*, *Alithinol.* p. 19. *Hollingshead*, *Desc. Hib.* c. 6. *Speed*, *Chron. ann.* 1303, 1308. 1313. *Hooker*, c. 12, and in the *Irish Peerage*.

proposal came recommended by letters from *Owen Roe* himself; Daniel was, of all their Countrymen, the most likely to please them; he was one of the most popular men, one of the most judicious, and one of the best Officers of his age.* And yet—how was this proposal received?

There are crimes which can be punished only in another world. Daniel's Irish heart beat high with the proud hope that he should be instrumental to the prosperity of his Country; but he had hardly explained the object of his mission, on his arrival at Clonmel, when, *contrary to the faith of nations*, he was arrested, imprisoned, and confined during the fourteen days, which Ormond had allowed the Bishops for deliberation; nor was he enlarged but on

* Clarendon, who knew him personally, says so; adding however, erroneously, that he was a Protestant. Carte adopts this error from him. But both are refuted by the fact that he was an Officer in the service of Spain; that he is abused as a *rank Papist*, in the *Perfect Diurnal*; and that King Charles I. was compelled, much against his will, to exclude him from his service on that account.

condition that he should not return to his quarters again !

I wish, with all my heart, that the historian could consign to oblivion, the follies and the crimes of his Countrymen, and that his duty obliged him only to record their virtues; but the truth must be told; and it is proper and necessary that it should be told *by ourselves*.— Let no man fear truth. God will avail himself of her manifestation, to correct and to chasten those whom he loves. I can never read the conclusion of the second book of Maccabees without thinking of Ireland.*

103. Ormond had now no resource but to capitulate; and he had hardly quitted the kingdom, when the arbitrary proceedings of the Clerico-Political faction caused the utmost consternation.

Three Dominican Friars, *Hacket, Roche,* and *O'Dwyer*, preached in the Catholic camp

* “ Obsecro autem eos qui hunc librum lecturi sunt, ne
“ abhorrescant propter adversos casus, sed reputent ea quæ
“ acciderunt, non ad interitum, sed ad correptionem esse
“ gentis nostri.”

against *Lord Muskerry*, *Dr. Fennel*, and the other favourers of the peace with Ormond, as favourers of *heresy*; almost all the Nobility of Ireland were involved in this imputation; divisions increased every day; *Preston* was defeated by Jones in Leinster; *Taafe* by Inchiquin in Munster; and yet the foreign-influenced faction demanded, not only that all the Churches and Church lands, and *Spiritual Revenues* should be restored to them, and that there should be no Lord Lieutenant but a Catholic, approved by the Pope, but also that the ancient Statutes of *Provisors* and *Præmunire*, which were enacted against Papal Bulls in *Catholic times*, should be repealed! *

104. For the purpose of securing a majority in the new-modelled *Clerico-political* Supreme Council of Kilkenny, the Nuncio introduced

* Our own Belling laments this infatuation, in his *Vindiciæ*, p. 53. Compare the King's Letters in Carte, vol. 3, No. cccc, cccci, cccci, with the Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1835—1858, and Carte, v. 1, p. 549. The facts are attested by all parties. The original demands are now before me in the Earl of Essex's MS. already quoted.

eleven Bishops *elect*, whom, in defiance of all decency, and of some timid and desponding opposition, he peremptorily ordered to take their seats, though he acknowledged that not one of them was consecrated, and that their Bulls were not yet expedited from Rome! He then pressed the assembly to elect the Pope for their Sovereign, with the title of “*Lord Protector*,” and after some opposition on the part of the Nobility, he succeeded so far, that *French* Bishop of Ferns, and *Sir N. Plunket*, were, by a majority of voices, appointed Agents to Rome, with *instructions*, which are now before me in MS. in the first vol. of the Earl of Essex’s MSS. at Stowe. They are dated Kilkenny, Jan. 18, 1647, and the 9th is—“To
 “make *application to his Holiness* for his being
 “Protector of this kingdom.”*

* Algernon Capel, Earl of Essex’s MSS. v. 1, fol. No. xiv. Carte acknowledges that “the Catholic Nobility and Gentry opposed that motion, knowing that the Nuncio dreaded nothing so much as the kingdom’s being united in obedience to the King; and that the demands of his faction would make all peace with their lawful Prince impracticable, and subject them to a foreign power, which was now the *declared* design

105. In addition to these public instructions, there were others *private*; one of which was to desire, on *behalf of the Catholics of Ireland*, that the Nuncio should be created Cardinal.—Now this was not the Act of the Catholics of Ireland; but a private and smuggled Resolution of the Bishops, similar to that which was sent to the castle in 1799. For the Catholics of Ireland soon after contradicted it, in a formal Protest against the Nuncio!—It was therefore a deliberate falsehood! But yet that falsehood was consecrated by the signatures of eight consecrated Bishops, whose names are annexed in the Stowe MS.—Yes—They claimed an *exclusive* right to decide on *all matters* touching the Irish Church! and so do they *to this day*!

Cessation with Inchiquin—violated.

106. The Bishop of *Ferns* and *N. Plunket*, sailed for Rome from Waterford, Feb. 17, 1648. But they were hardly gone, when the foreign

of the Clergy, and of the old Irish.” Carte’s *Orm.* v. 2, p. 18, 20, 30, and 32, and Rinuccini’s Letters to Panziroli.

faction found itself involved in the most imminent danger, in the very seat of their own Government. Inchiquin's army, having defeated *Taafe*, laid all Munster under contribution; they made incursions in the County of Kilkenny, up to the very walls of the capital; O'Nial's army was engaged in the North; and the Bishops were so terrified, that they and the Nuncio willingly hearkened to Lord *Clanricard's* advice, for a cessation with Inchiquin.

The Nuncio, not only hearkened to this proposal, but strenuously advised it at that time; and Inchiquin, who had revolted in 1644, from personal pique, because he was refused the Presidency of Munster, now seeing that the Parliament were going such lengths to the utter extinction of the Monarchy, received the proposal with joy, desiring only that it might be kept secret, until he had utterly disengaged himself from the Parliament Officers, and Ships, whom he had invited to his aid. In the mean time he opened a private correspondence with Ormond, inviting him to return from France, and offering

his services so unequivocally to the King, that Ormond resolved to comply.

But now, the *wise* Bishops, whose object in advising a cessation with Inchiquin, was only to gain time for *Owen Roe's* advance into Munster, as soon as they discovered this intelligence between Ormond and Inchiquin, determined rather to join with the Parliament General *Jones*, hoping that, if they could agree with *Jones*, they should *gain time* for O'Nial's army to crush both Inchiquin and Taafe.—These they wished to subdue, “for no
“other reason, says Colonel Barry, so much as
“for fear that they should join *Ormond*, and
“unite all the well-affected under his com-
“mand,” which would destroy their own.*

107. Three weeks had scarcely elapsed, since

* Colonel Barry's Letter to Ormond, April 16, 1648.

No one was better qualified than Barry to know the truth, and no one less disposed to disguise it. He was the person employed by Inchiquin to conclude a cessation at Kilkenny, where he remained a whole week, daily attending the Council with propositions on that subject. He is supported by Walsh, and by the Nuncio's *remonstrance* against the cessation, published by *Carve* in his *Lyra*, p. 334.

they had proposed this cessation themselves. But now they argued that it was *unlawful to make a truce with heretics*;* and when the Council desired that they would shew why a truce was *unlawful* with the heretic Inchiquin, and *lawful* with the heretick Jones, who was the worst of the two, they declined any answer.

Disgusted by their equivocations, the assembly, after an interval of one month from the first proposal of a truce, concluded a cessation *for six months* with Inchiquin, May 22, 1648.

108. The Nuncio now caused the *declaration*, which the Bishops had *privately* signed, on the 27th of April, to be publicly divulged; he had it affixed to the door of the Cathedral of Kilkenny; he even published another paper, *privately* signed by them, on the 2d of May, by which they delegated to him power to issue censures, against all who would adhere to

* They had actually proposed to the Council a truce with Jones, Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 1921—2002. Carte, v. 2, p. 25, 33, and the original Documents, v. 3, No. DLXIX, with Carve's Lyra, and Rushworth's 4th and last part of v. 2, Lond. 1701, p. 947.

the cessation; and, in consequence of these *private* declarations, and the power thus *privately* delegated to him, he issued an excommunication on the 27th, interdicting all cities, towns, and villages, from Divine Service, Sacraments, and Christian rites, if they should adhere to, or favour the truce! He hoped that these censures would be obeyed, with the same servile submission, as those of Waterford and Kilkenny were in 1646.

109. But the Catholics were now in want of money; the provinces were wasted; the fear of an impending famine was terrible; and to oppose a cessation with Inchiquin, who had declared for the royal cause, was contrary to their duty of allegiance, and even to the *oath of association*, which had been framed by themselves!—These new censures therefore excited the greatest alarm. All the Nobility and Gentry of Munster rose in a body against them; *Doctor Fennel* tore down the Episcopal *Declaration* with his own hands; and the Nuncio had no resource remaining but with the *Ulster Creachts* and *Owen Roe*.

110. Many of the Bishops, ashamed of what they had done in *private*, and fearful of what they were proceeding to do in public, now began to disown their own work. *Cunning* was, as usual, substituted in the place of *honesty*; they said that what they had condemned, was not a cessation *absolute et simpliciter*, but a cessation *secundum quid*!—Some of them declared, even by a public document, that the paper which they had *privately* signed at the Nuncio's house, on the 27th of April, was not intended against *the cessation now made* with Inchiquin, but against a cessation *to be made*, as represented by the Nuncio; and, finding the torrent still strong against them, they veered round completely, publishing a condemnation of their own *private* proceedings, by a new instrument in favour of the truce, and joining with the Council of the Nobility and Gentry in a formal *appeal* against the Nuncio to Rome!*

* This appeal is dated May 31. An extract is given by Clarendon, p. 86. The original is given by *Carve*. Clarendon

111. An old adage says—“ *nunquam sera est ad bonos mores via.*” Reformation is never too late; and certainly if this change in the conduct of the Bishops, had been a *penitential*, instead of a *political* change, I should refrain from censure; I should rather impute their Ecclesiastical censures to ignorance, and error of judgment, than to ambition and the lust of command. But the whole tenor of their subsequent conduct, would give the lie to such flimsy apologies.

Taafe had at this time new-modelled his army, so as to render his Officers excommunication-proof; Clanricard's army of 3000 men were of the same temper; fatal experience had taught *Preston* and his army of 3000 foot and 300 horse to follow their example; the Nuncio had tampered with him by his emissary *Father Anhaman*, to declare for the censures, but

says, that the Irish Agent who presented this *appeal*, complained to the Pope that, *at that very time*, the continuation of Baronius's Annals by *Ordericus Vitalis*, was sanctioned by the Court of Rome, with a view to establish the Pope's pretensions to the supreme sovereignty of the British Islands!

Preston returned for answer, that he would receive no letters of his, or orders, but through the Supreme Council which he had sworn to obey.—In such circumstances, what is an excommunication?

112. Reduced to this extremity, the Nuncio convened a National Synod, to assemble at Galway, August 15, hoping to make a powerful stand by means *of the Sacraments*, which he hoped the Clergy would refuse to all who opposed him!—This was a formidable manœuvre; but the Council, aware of the design, ordered all civil Magistrates to intercept the Clergy on their way to Galway, and, if necessary, to retain them by force from assembling at so critical a time; and Lord Clanricard perceiving that the Nuncio studiously evaded some *queries* which he put to him relative to his spiritual power,* and convinced that he was

* His Letter to Lord Clanricard, dated Galway, Aug. 2, 1648, demanding, on pain of excommunication, that the Provincial of the Franciscans, whom *Clanricard* had made prisoner, on a charge of *high treason*, should be enlarged, as being *immediately subject to the Holy See*, and *Clanricard's* reply, may be seen in *Carve's Lyra*, p. 341, &c.—There

not governed in his proceedings *bona fide*, marched directly to Galway, where he was, and laid siege to the town.

113. It was now that *Father Reily*, Vicar General of Dublin, intrigued with the Parliamentary General *Jones*, as already mentioned, to bring about a coalition between *Owen Roe* and the Parliament, against the Nobility and Gentry of his own communion; against every thing that was loyal and noble, and almost every man that had any genuine sense of virtue or religion in his Country !

Jones was far from being averse to this overture; he feared the expected arrival of *Ormond* from France; he wished to whet the swords of the Irish against each other; to destroy the undisciplined troops of *Clanricard* and *Taafe*, by the disciplined veterans of *Owen Roe*'s more powerful army; and to overwhelm them all in the end. He therefore closed with

Letters, and the queries annexed to them, being very scarce, and unknown to the editors of the folio edition, as well as of the 8vo. edition of *Clanricard's Letters*, shall be published in an *Appendix*.

Father Reily; and Owen Roe, having by this treaty secured the families and herds of his Ulster *Creachts*, marched to surprise Kilkenny, which by a treasonable correspondence between Father Reily and *O'Ceanga*, Guardian of the Franciscans, was to be betrayed, with Lord *Muskerry*, and the whole Catholic Council into his hands!

Most fortunately, *Reily's* letters were intercepted, as already mentioned; and the conspiracy being detected, and the Catholic Generals co-operating heartily with Inchiquin, *O'Nial* with great difficulty escaped, by forced marches, to the North.

Peace concluded between Ormond and the Catholics—and violated by the foreign-influenced Bishops.

114. Meantime Ormond landed at Corke, Sep. 29, 1648, and signified to the General Assembly at Kilkenny, that he had power to conclude a peace, and would receive their proposals at Carrick, any day they would appoint. This proposition was received with the

greatest joy ; an admonition was sent by the assembly to the Nuncio in Galway, to quit the kingdom ; and Ormond was invited to Kilkenny, and was received there in a style of pomp and magnificence, and with a cordiality, which he never experienced before. The whole body of the Assembly went out to meet him, at some distance from the town ; the bells of the Cathedral announced the joyful tidings as he approached ; the cannons played from the ramparts ; the Gentry and Clergy crowded from all the neighbourhood to cheer him as he passed ; and the Mayor and Aldermen paid him all those honours, which such Corporations usually pay to the sovereign authority of the kingdom.

115. The peace which Ormond and the Catholics so anxiously desired, was facilitated also by the arrival of *French* of Ferns, and *Sir N. Plunket*, whom the Nuncio's party had sent as Agents to Rome ; for they returned, at this very time, without any aid or expectations from the Pope. They brought an account that the Turks had landed in Candia ; that the

Pope's States were menaced; that his treasury was empty; and that now his Irish subjects (in *spirituals* no doubt) must shift for themselves.*

Under these circumstances, the Catholic Council concluded a peace with Ormond, Jan. 17, 1649, *nem. con.* after the Articles had been repeatedly debated, after they had been *thrice read*, and *thrice agreed to* on the day before.

Nine *consecrated* Bishops, who were present, subscribed the Articles, and sent circular letters to all Cities and Corporations of their party, enjoining them to submit; the whole Assembly repaired in a body, on the same day, to the castle of Kilkenny, amid the acclamations of thousands, to ratify them; and there, with all the solemnity imaginable, Ormond, sitting under a canopy, on a throne of state,

* Those who argue against the oath of supremacy *merely* from the words "*Head of the Church in Spirituals*," ought to reflect that the foreign-influenced Bishops themselves have affixed to this word *spirituals* a temporal meaning. Thus in their Synod of Kilkenny, May 1642, they order that all who have invaded the goods, movable or immovable, *spiritual* or temporal, of Protestants, not being enemies, should be excommunicated. See the original Act in Borlase's Appendix.

the treaty was confirmed by him on the King's part, and then, by his order, with firing of guns, solemnly proclaimed.

116. The national *faith* was now pledged, and the national *feelings* were in unison with the national faith. The interests, the prejudices, and the conviction of the very populace were all on one side.—This was the finest day that *Kilkenny* ever witnessed; perhaps the finest that *Kilkenny* shall ever witness again.—The azure expanse of the heavens in the Alpine regions of Italy is sublimely beautiful; the purple glow which half shades, half exhibits, the scenery of the Apennines after sun-set, in Apulia and Calabria, cannot be well described. In order to give credit to the truest description, and to feel it as it deserves, we must have seen the original, and then we shall acknowledge that descriptions and nature are very different things.—Just so, there is a moral beauty, which no eloquence can describe; when bodies of men, however differing in other respects, unite upon *common principles*, from a thorough conviction of the *justness* of any cause, and the ne-

cessity of co-operating for common prosperity against the enemies, as well of *interests*, as of *principles* which are common to both, then the sacred flame of patriotic ardour communicates itself from breast to breast; the *terror* of external compulsion is but a feeble and contemptible agent, when compared with internal energies which spring up from conviction, communicating a spontaneous impulse, and kindling the enthusiasm of reason and religion in the human mind.

Such was the state of Kilkenny when this peace was signed; and surely no Irishman, who contemplates Ormond settling the destinies of his Country, in union with the chosen representatives of the majority of the Irish nation, will hear or read without grief and shame, that any party then present, Catholic or Protestant, should, after the indelible disgrace of so many violations of national faith, be so lost to all sense of shame, as to violate this solemn agreement of 1649! And yet—strange as it may appear—this peace was violated soon after!

The peace of 1649 violated—Synod of Jamestown.

117. *Owen Roe's* army of 5000 veteran foot and 300 horse,* was still devoted to the foreign-influenced faction; the Nuncio indeed was closely besieged in Galway, by Lord *Clanricard*, but had Sycophants and Emissaries in every part of the kingdom, by whose *spiritual* power he new-modelled the heads 2000 of the regular orders, so as to have all their Provincial superiors under his control. Even when he was compelled to embark for Normandy, Feb. 22, 1649, he sent *instructions* from thence to *Owen Roe* and to Father *R. O'Ferral* to stand fast by the Pope; and he added that he

* His army would have been more powerful, if Col. *Arthur Fox*, Lord *Iveagh*, Col. *Miles Lesley*, Col. *Terence O'Nial*, son of Henry O'Nial of the *Fewes*, and others, who wished to preserve their estates, had not submitted to the peace. His soldiers also deserted in such numbers to the loyal Catholic side, that 2000 of them, who could not be trusted, were sent into the Spanish service with *O'Sullivan Bear*.—But Carte acknowledges that the 5000 foot and 300 horse that remained to him, were *the best and most experienced* of all the Irish forces." *Ib.* p. 57.

would soon return in such force as would beat down all opposition before him.*

The Marquis of *Antrim* had arrived from Paris, highly discontented at not being appointed Lord Lieutenant by the Prince; and having caused the Laird of *Glengary* to come over with a regiment of Highlanders, to support his interest against Ormond, he joined the *Cavenaghs* and *Byrns* of Wicklowe; declared against the cessation with Inchiquin; was defeated by *Sir T. Esmond*; then openly proceeded to Dublin; and entered into those measures which were so treacherously settled by *Father Reily*, as already stated, between General *Jones* and *Owen Roe*.†

* He and the foreign-influenced faction had at this time opened negotiations with Cromwell, as stated above, p. 180, and "he remained in Normandy until June 1650, attending "the issue of Abbe *Crelly's* negotiations in London." Carte, ib. p. 57, and the originals, X 240, 283, Y 8, 9, 10, 21, 22, 47, 151. *Hiberniæ Domin. Supplem.* p. 914.

† See above, p. 145, 177, 180, 345, &c.

Compare Carte, ib. p. 43, and again p. 100. "*Rockfort*, the "Nuncio's friend, who betrayed Wexford to Cromwell, was "one of his chief agents; *Father Enos*, D.D. was another; "the Nuncio's Captain *Antonio* joined with him in endea-

118. In consequence of *Crelly's* negotiations in London, an order had passed in the Puritanical Parliament, for permitting Catholics to compound, *on easy terms*, for their estates; and a new oath of supremacy was framed for such of them as were *in orders*; for by this gentle appellation, that nest of villains began now to distinguish their accommodating brethren, the foreign-influenced Clergy, in whose favour a new Act of *Supremacy* was framed, to which the Catholics and Independents might equally subscribe!

Fairfax's Scout-master-General, *Watson*, was sent abroad to carry on this treaty with the English and Irish exiles in France; *Sir Kenelm Digby*, *Sir J. Winter*, and several others entered into it with such zeal, that the former accepted a pass from Cromwell, and ventured into England to promote it, and the latter was

“ vouring to debauch the Catholic soldiers of *Duncannon*,
 “ *Rosse*, *Wexford*, and *Waterford*. He undertook to serve the
 “ Parliament Rebels by treachery, and held an intimate cor-
 “ respondence with them from the time they came before
 “ *Rosse*.” *Ib.* 101, 106, 107, 108, 110.

on his way to Ireland for the same purpose, when his design being discovered by the Royal Family, and a warrant issued to Ormond, March 12, to arrest him on his landing, he committed that scheme to a *Mr. Walsingham*, who would have done infinite mischief, if the peace of Kilkenny had not been concluded before he arrived.

119. It was however perfectly known to the heads of the foreign-influenced party, that *Crelly's* negotiations with Cromwell were in great forwardness; the Provincials and Guardians of the regular orders, who were appointed by the Nuncio, as related above,* assembled the most factious of the *spiritual* Chiefs, harangued, preached, and in Synods and Chapters *censured* the well-affected Catholics, so as to form a strong party, which, with *Owen Roe, Antrim*, and Rome's censures at their backs, afforded to the Bishops hopes that they might overthrow *Ormond*, whose power they felt to be a check to the exorbitance of their own.

* *Ib.* p. 357.—Compare *Carte*, *ib.* p. 61, 74, 105.

There were many of them, who even *before his defeat at Rathmines*, feared his success, and manifested their great anxiety that he should not expel *Jones* from Dublin;* and, strange as it may appear, it is a certain fact, *as certain as any in history*, that, notwithstanding the peace so solemnly signed, they and the *old natives*, whose whole race the Puritanical faction had sworn to extirpate, now privately confederated with the Puritans! *O'Nial* contracted with *Jones* that he would compel Ormond to withdraw his forces from the siege of Dublin; and Cromwell took advantage of this their abominable wickedness, to overwhelm the whole nation in that ruin which they *alone* so richly deserved! †

120. The Nuncio's intimate friend and agent *Hu: Rochfort*, Recorder of Wexford, was now

* Clarend. Irish Rebel. p. 139.—Compare 115—117, and Carte's Orm. v. 2, p. 117. “They *triumphed* in Ormond's “defeat.” Answer to the Jamestown Synod. Essex MS.

† I say them *only*—for our Gentry and Nobility are acquitted by their remonstrance of *Trim*, their peace of 1646, their cessation of 1648, and this peace of 1649, which *they*, *unfortunate men*, never violated.

employed on a mission to corrupt General Preston ; and I am sorry to find that, notwithstanding the peace so solemnly signed, Preston consented to hold a private and treasonable correspondence with *Janes* !* Carte says, that in the course of this correspondence, a plan was formed for assassinating Ormond. But this surmise is founded only on a letter of *Rochfort's*, which is very obscure. Another letter however, collated with *Rochfort's*, proves that a secret design was formed of seizing on his person, at a dinner to which he was invited by Preston, and betraying him into the hands of his enemies ! The subsequent horrid

* See Jones's Letter, of June 6, to Cromwell, in the Bishop of Clogher's MS. fol. No. iii, p. 626. Carte says, that " this correspondence originated in Preston's discontent, " because Ormond preferred Lord *Taafe* to be master of the " ordnance, a charge for which he (Lord Taafe) was well " qualified by his capacity and experience, and which he " well deserved for his extraordinary affection, and services " to the Crown." v. 2, p. 71. Those who accuse Ormond of hostility to the Catholics, do not reflect that he employed *Clanricard*, *Taafe*, *Castlehaven*, &c. &c. in the most confidential and lucrative offices he could confer. Is the memory of this great man to be insulted by foreign-influenced scribblers, without being contradicted by Irish gratitude.

treasons of *Antrim*, *Rochfort*, and *Dr. Enos*, who betrayed Wexford to Cromwell, fully justify this assertion; and *Rochfort's* letter to Jones, does not admit of any milder or more benevolent interpretation.*

Cromwell had now ascertained, through his negotiations with *Crelly*, *Reily*, *Rochfort*, *Enos*, and *Antrim*, that most of the incorporate towns in Munster and Leinster were influenced by the *Rinuccini* Bishops, who would keep the mass of the people from submitting to *Ormond*, to *Clanricard*, to *Taafé*, or to *Inchiquin*; and he

* *Rochfort's* Letter, dated Catherloch, June 4, says, "None hath been made privy to our proceedings but General Preston, his son, Col. Warren, and a few other leading men, so far embarked in the work as a syllable hath not dropped from any of them. This I gather from Ormond's being friendly invited hither to dinner on Thursday last, though he would not (as we suppose, by reason of the caution thence given him) *commit his person to us*, without his own guards of horse and foot, by which advertisement, *we missed of our last opportunity.*" See the original in Carte's *Orm.* v. 2, p. 72, and in the Bishop of Clogher's MS. No. iii, p. 626—632. A letter from Sir E. Nicholas to Ormond at this very time, conjures him to take care of his person, for that the English Rebels had hired six villains to assassinate him. Carte's Documents, Y. 280, 244, Q. v.

landed with a powerful army in Dublin, Aug. 15, shortly after Ormond had been surprised at *Rathmines*, where *Col. Butler*, *Lord Fingal*, 300 officers, and 1500 privates were made prisoners of war, Aug. 2, 1649.

Scarcely had he landed, when *Antrim's* Chaplain, *Kelly*, came to concert measures with him for betraying Wexford; and he had scarcely stormed Drogheda on the 11th of September, when he marched against that town with the utmost confidence of success. Rochfort, and the Governor, Captain *Roche*, who had been appointed to that station through the Nuncio's interest, and was a professed creature of *French of Ferns*, corresponded with him privately;* his trenches were hardly opened, when his forces were admitted into the castle by *Strafford*, the Governor, who was an associate in their guilt; and the town was taken by storm on Tuesday the 11th of Sep. 1649.

121. Involved in so many difficulties, Or-

* Some of their Letters to Cromwell were intercepted. Carte, v. 2, p. 90—93. Essex MSS. v. 1.

mond sent *Dan. O'Nial* with proposals to *Owen Roe*, who began at this time to see that he could repose no faith in Cromwell. *Ebher Mac Mahon*, who was then in his camp, near Derry, seconded these proposals with all his eloquence and address, as mentioned p. 213.—Owen yielded; he signed the treaty with Ormond Oct. 12, and perhaps he would have saved Ireland even then, if he had not been arrested by a distemper which terminated in death, as he was advancing to *Ormond's* relief.*

122. But the mischief done by the foreign-influenced faction was now irreparable. Waterford, as well as Wexford, Duncannon and Carrick were infected by their treacherous suggestions, and betrayed by the intrigues of *Antrim, Kelly, Reily, Rochfort, Enos*, and others, who even proposed, in the Common Council of Waterford, to seize upon Ormond, and to fall upon his followers as rebels and enemies to the

* He died at *Clochuachter* castle, and was buried in the old Abbey of Cavan. *Owen O'Nial's Journal*.

State! Nor did this infamous proposal meet with any other reprehension than to be rejected by a majority, who, however, ordered that his men should not be hutted under the walls, or admitted within shot of the town !*

No man will value *professions*, however loud and loyal, if the persons who make them act in diametrical opposition to their own words.—Now the foreign faction rejoiced, at this time, in Cromwell's successes against Ormond;† and though Eibher Mac Mahon, who saw the necessity of an union of all parties against Cromwell, endeavoured to infuse that spirit which animated himself, into the breasts of all those who assembled at the Synod of Cluanmacnoise, on Dec. 4, 1649, yet it soon after appeared, that their apparent unanimity consisted only in *professions*, and that the

* In reply to Ormond's complaints, the King permitted him to quit the kingdom. See his Letter, Jersey, Feb. 2, 1649, Carte, v. 2, p. 104—108. Essex MSS. v. 1.

† Ib. p. 117, 118, and Galbraith's Letter from the election of a General for the Ulster army, p. 113. Above, p. 360.

majority little regarded its decrees, except for the advancement of their own power.*

All the disasters which were owing to their own misconduct they attributed to Ormond; they forwarded a *memorial* to Rome and to Madrid, declaring that they would rather submit to Cromwell than to him; styling all the Catholic Lords who joined him *heretical leaders*, and *traitors*, and declaring that Ireland could never prosper whilst subject to their command.

A copy of this memorial fell into Ireton's hands, who sent it to Cromwell, and Cromwell had it published on Monday, Oct. 14, 1650, when he threw off the mask, and shewed them that he despised and detested them as they deserved, and that he had no more occasion for their intrigues.†

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 2842—2866, and Carte's Documents, A.A. 242, 249, 265. The majority in this Synod voted that the refractory superiors of Convents, who had been most justly dispossessed for treason, by their proper visitor Caron, should be restored!

† Perfect Diurnal for Monday, Oct. 14, 1650; No. 44, p. 479, 545, and 546. Compare the Expostulation of the Irish Protestants presented to James II, Lond. 1689, p. 22. Reply to the Synod of J. Essex MSS. v. 1.

Until then Cromwell talked of nothing but liberty of religion, and his army was much better supplied than ever any of the Irish had been; the country people crowding to market in his camp with all kind of provisions, and without any impediment on the part of the Bishops, or any censures to prevent them!

Almost all the strong holds which were under the influence of the foreign-influenced Bishops surrendered without firing a shot, whilst *Kilkenny*, *Clonmel*, and *Tecrogan*, which were in the hands of the loyal Catholics made a gallant resistance, which reflected honour on themselves, and on their Country.

When the garrison of Kilkenny marched out with the honours of war, under Sir W. Butler, Cromwell said that they were *gallant fellows*, and that he should have raised the siege, if the town had not been betrayed by some of its inhabitants. He lost 2000 men in his assault on Clonmel, which was defended by 1200 of *Ebher Mac Mahon's* Ulster Irish, under *Hugh O'Nial*, who fought in the breach, determined to die in its defence; a clear proof that, if the Irish had not been corrupted,

Cromwell could never have conquered them! Having spent all his ammunition, and seeing no prospect of relief, O'Nial withdrew his garrison by night, and retired to Waterford with such secrecy, that Cromwell, knowing nothing of it next day, granted good conditions to the townsmen, who surrendered May 18, 1650.

Tecroghan was, with equal bravery, defended, by the gallant *Sir Rob. Talbot* of Malahide.

123. But the infatuation of the mass of the people was universal. Those who claimed an exclusive right to decide on *all matters* touching the Church, arrogated the Government entirely to themselves.—Twenty-four Bishops, who assembled at Limerick, March 8, 1650, proposed to Ormond on the 13th, that a Privy Council of their choice, should be appointed to overrule him in all matters, whether of peace or war; no Officer was allowed to take his orders, while he was at Limerick, where he came to confer with them; they imprisoned Lord *Kilmallock*, a Catholic Peer, and Officer in the King's service, merely because, by Ormond's orders, he quartered, for one night, some horsemen

within the liberties of the city; some of them, affecting great cordiality, waited on Ormond, and declared that the jealousies entertained against him, arose from the confidence he placed in the apostate Inchiquin; whilst others of them waited on Inchiquin, and, extolling the antiquity of the Princely house of *O'Brian*, declared that, if the Government were vested in him alone, and Ormond entirely excluded, they would place all power in his hands! *

Upon communicating with Inchiquin, Ormond discovered the trick; and finding that the object of the faction was to make them-

* Original Letters, B B. 105, in Carte's 3d vol. and vol. 2, p. 119, and Essex MSS. at Stowe, v. 1, fol. 131!

In a Council of war July 27, 1649, at which Ormond, Castlehaven, Taaffe, Preston, Sir A. Aston, Sir W. Vaughan, and Major General Purcell attended, "it was considered that Cromwell certainly had intelligence in Munster; and it was resolved that Lord Inchiquin, with two regiments of horse, and his own guards, should march from the siege of Dublin to secure that Province." Carte, v. 2, p. 78. "Without the reinforcements Cromwell received by the revolt of the Munster army and inhabitants, he would not have been able to make the progress he did in Ireland." Ib. p. 120.

selves absolute, he withdrew from Limerick, where his person was in danger, and invited them to follow him next day to *Lochrea*, March 18, 1650.*

124. And now, why did these same Bishops obey this invitation? Was it to make any apology? Was it by submission to appease him and Clanricard? Was it to support the peace so solemnly agreed upon?—No—Nothing of all this.

Amongst the articles which they pressed upon him at Limerick, one was that he should send all the English in his service out of the kingdom!—He replied, that if this could be done without reviving national distinctions, he would, for the sake of cordial unanimity comply. He did comply—the English were dismissed the Irish service, to the Scillies, and to Jersey; and now the Bishops, imagining themselves masters of Ireland, followed him to *Lochrea*, hoping, by his resignation, to *govern* under the authority of the King, which would sanction

* Ib. B B. 142, 176, 189, 197, 203, 252, 255.

all their subsequent proceedings in the eyes of the Catholic loyalists themselves!

When Lord Castlehaven proposed, that they should excommunicate all those Catholics who entered into particular compositions with Cromwell, or inlisted in his service, or sent him provisions, which would have put an effectual end to his career, for few of the men whom he had brought from England survived, they *absolutely refused to comply!*—No!—they reserved their censures for subsequent designs.*

Harassed and perplexed by their manœuvres, Ormond now communicated to them the King's letter, of Feb. 2, directing him, if he found his authority contemned, to quit the kingdom.

But the *Lochrea* Assembly consisted not of the Bishops *only*; it was composed also of the principal Nobility; and though the former desired nothing so much as his departure; the latter, foreseeing that it would throw them into anarchy, and dependence on the *absolute will* of an excommunicating power, voted that he

* Originals in Carte, v. 3, B B. 149.

should remain; that if any person or place should be refractory to him, they would contribute to reduce them; and that nothing should resist his authority.—“If so, said Ormond—“evidence your sincerity by *facts*—reduce Limerick to receive a garrison.”

De Burgo Archbishop of Tuam, and *Sir L. Dillon* were now sent to *prevail* on the inhabitants of Limerick, to submit to the King's Lieutenant; and Ormond altered his purpose of quitting the kingdom.*

But Limerick proved obstinate; one Wolfe, a Franciscan Friar, putting himself at the head of the populace, with a crucifix in his hand, seized on the gates, called in Col. *O'Brian's* regiment, and declared by *anathema*, that Ormond should not be admitted into the town.

Did the Bishops countenance these proceedings?—I answer *indubitably*.—“*Qui non est mecum contra me est.*”—Lord Clanricard

* On the faith of their promises, he dismissed a frigate which, at considerable expense, he had prepared for his flight. Carte's Originals, BB. 188, 246, 345, 349, 372, 384, 386 collated with v. 2, p. 123, and Essex MSS. at Stowe, v. 1.

called upon them to excommunicate these rebels. But they, who were so prodigal of excommunications against the loyal Catholics, absolutely *refused to comply*.

125. The example of Limerick was quickly followed by that of Galway.—Strange infatuation of spiritual malignity! Awful blindness of spiritual pride! The conduct of the foreign-influenced Bishops had so facilitated Cromwell's conquest, that he was already in possession of nearly three fourths of the kingdom!

Ever since their excommunication at Waterford, 1646, these very holy Bishops had waged a bitter and implacable *spiritual* war, against the best informed, the most steady, the most loyal, and the *most Catholic* Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy of their own communion, with every circumstance of vile calumny, atrocious malignity, and *pious* revenge; and now, whilst the whole Province of Connaught was yet untouched, whilst Waterford, Limerick, Athlone, and Galway, were yet in their hands, and could have been placed in a formidable attitude, so as to baffle the discon-

tented and famishing hosts of their invaders, they were more solicitous that their infamous censures should be *blindly* obeyed, and their pretended spiritual authority placed above that of the King's Lieutenant, than that the curse of Cromwell, which *their curses* so richly deserved, should be averted from their Country!

Just so will the emancipation of Catholic Ireland be formidable to them, as soon as they find that the laws are to interfere with their pretensions. They have already informed us, that they *exclusively* have a right to discuss and decide *on all matters* touching the Irish Church, and that the interference of all others, however *high* in station, is *schismatical*; a pretty plain hint to all Catholic Members of Parliament, that if they will dare to vote on any question touching the discipline of the Council of Trent, they shall be held out as schismatics, and consequently denied the Sacraments in their own Church!

126. Blinded by their spiritual ambition, instead of heartily co-operating with Ormond, and their Protestant Countrymen in a common

cause, as they were bound to do by the peace of Kilkenny, they employed Emissaries to treat with *Cromwell*;* they encouraged the Catholic powers of Europe to undertake the conquest of Ireland;† and, at this very time, they had employed the infamous *Rochfort*, the betrayer of Wexford, on a mission to that effect, with the Duke of Lorrain!

They inform us, indeed, that they never made any *private* overtures to the Duke of Lorrain, or to any of the Catholic powers, until after Ormond quitted the kingdom; and that the overtures then made were with the consent of

* “Known it was that there was a person sent over, and “*many overtures* made by a Priest, *O'Reily*, to the Committee “of *Derby House*.” Cox, v. 2, p. 218.

The Bishops themselves advert to their private treaty with the regicides, in their Jamestown *Declaration* of August. 12th, 1650. “The confederate Catholiques could have agreed, “say they, with the Parliament of England, upon as good, or “better conditions than were by the above pacification of “Kilkenny obtained, and thereby free themselves.” Essex MS. fol. 95.—A pretty argument! They make a merit of not having joined the regicides! Pretty principles!—Compare Carte’s originals, B B. 233, &c.

† Carte’s Originals, C C. 5, and v. 2, p. 126.

the Catholic Nobility. But there are coeval documents which give the lie to these assertions; and there are men in the world, whom no sacrilegious abuse of censures, and no profanation of Sacraments, shall *restrain from telling the whole truth*.

127. Before their meeting at Jamestown, they had applied to several of the foreign powers, and had been, for *some time, actually treating with the Archduke Leopold*, then Governor of the Low Countries, to put themselves under his protection, or that of Spain and the house of Austria; and it was on account of the designs they had formed, and the hopes they entertained of personal aggrandizement, by and with the aid of a foreign Catholic power, that they thwarted Ormond in every thing he undertook, so that he could never draw an army into the field, having neither money, nor provisions, nor men!—He encouraged and granted commissions to all Catholic Officers, who undertook to raise companies of horse or foot; but these several Commanders acted independently, like *Tories*, un-

der the influence of Preachers, who cautioned them against confidence in him, or in *Castlehaven*, or even in *Clanricard*; and the foreign faction, which had always secretly opposed the peace of Kilkenny,* caused such divisions, and such a general dejection, that very few took any measures for their defence; most of them thought only of making separate compositions with the enemy; and the utter extinction of the Irish name and nation, appeared now to all sober, loyal, and rational Catholics inevitably to impend.

Ormond hoped that, amongst the Bishops who had apparently observed moderation in the Synod of *Cluanmacnoise*, and opposed the mad ambition of their refractory brethren, some might be found who would heartily co-operate with him; and with this hope he had summoned them to meet him at Limerick, March 8, when, to his astonishment, instead of obedience to his authority, they talked only of a Privy Council

* Ormond's Original MS. in the Essex folio at Stowe, v. 1, p. 179, with the Nuncio's Memoirs.

of their own choosing, to control all his actions in peace and war, in order to get the Government into their own hands.—Every subsequent step of their's, was a new measure tending to lower him in public esteem; they propagated that he had in 1646 sold Dublin to the Parliament for £10,000; they now added that his intention of quitting the kingdom, was a sequel to that treaty, and previously concerted between Cromwell and him !

And yet they knew that the £10,000, which he received on surrendering Dublin, was not half the sum due to him for *disbursements* on his own estates to the army; that the accompts were audited by *Sir J. Ware*; that they were examined by Commissioners; that the very Council of Dublin had certified that these disbursements alone, *independently of the sums due to him* as Lord Lieutenant, and as Commander in chief, amounted to £13,877, 13s. 4d; and yet that he abated £1000 of the money disbursed from his *personal property*, provided the honourable terms which he made for the *Catholic*, as well as the Protestant loyalists, should be rati-

fied!—They had been concerned with the Nuncio in offering him the *Crown of Ireland*, if he would turn Catholic, and hold it of the Holy See.* After the refusal of such an offer, made with the concurrence of the *Court* of Rome, and with hopes held out of support from all the Catholic States, at a time too when the Irish confederates were in the plenitude of their power, absolutely masters of the kingdom, with the exception of him alone, how could they, without the greatest iniquity, suggest, that he was now about to betray the kingdom to regicides, to sacrifice his Princely fortune, his friends, his Country, and his spotless loyalty to an Usurper, from whom he had nothing to expect but slavery and disgrace!

128. These aspersions however had the effect which the Bishops desired; and now finding their religious cry matured for their designs, they called their famous Synod of *Jamestown*, Aug. 6, 1650, from whence, *on the 10th*, they

* See this Address part 1, p. 185.

Compare Nuncio's Memoirs, f. 2984, 2987, with Carte, v. 2, p. 127, 136.

sent the Bishop of *Dromore* and *Dr. C. Kelly* Dean of Tuam, with a *modest* message to Ormond to *quit the kingdom*.*

I can fancy his indignation—but I will not

* The original is now before me in the Essex MS. already quoted, fol. 84, p. 168. It is dated Aug. 10, 1650; some of our writers have foolishly supposed that it was forwarded from Jamestown on the 13th; but, the date being very important, I give Ormond's reply, by which it is ascertained.

“ The Letter of Credence of the 10th of *August*, from the Bishops mett at Jamestown, being delivered to us on the 12th of the same, by the Bishop of *Dromore* and *Dr. C. Kelly* Dean of Tuam, we desired them to reduce the substance of their message into writing, which, on the 13th of the said month, they accordingly did, which after wee had considered, and imparted to the Commissioners of Trust, wee found could not be soe well answered in writing, as wee hoped it might be by a free and personall conference with the said Prelates, which on the 26th of this month wee hoped might have been had, in which hope wee travelled hither, at a time when our presence towards the passages upon the Shannon, betwixt *Killaloe* and *Limerick*, was very necessary for the defence of that part of the kingdom, lying on this side that river. But finding now that the said Prelates have not found it convenient to be here, wee doe, according to your desire, returne our answere to the foresaid proposition by the Bishop of *Corke* and *Clonfert*, and soe we bid you heartily farewell. From *Lochreach*, 31st of Aug. 1650.

To the Archbishops and Bishops assembled at Jamestown.”

Compare the Nuncio's Memoirs.

Christian Catholique Prelates, of their endeavours, with all earnestness, to take away from the hearts of the people all jealousies, wee are much to looke how to understand *protestations* premitted in the name of *Christian Catholique Prelates*."

The Jamestown Censures considered.

130. I would now leave it to the Bishops themselves to consider how necessary it is to erect *legal* barriers against spiritual pride, in order to confine Church *Censures* within the limits of *Canon law*.—But clamours have been raised in favour of the Jamestown excommunication! We have been told that it was *provoked*; that, *prior to their excommunicating Ormond* and his adherents, one of whom was no less a personage than the King, the Bishops had received intelligence that the King had subscribed the Covenant; and signed the *Declaration at Drumfernling*; engaging to exterminate Catholicity in all his dominions, and to break the peace of 1648 as impious, though confirmed by his father and by himself.*

* Curry's Hist. Mem. p. 131, 132.

To this vile reasoning I answer, first of all, by the overwhelming evidence of my dates.—It is true that they did not *publish* their excommunication until the 15th of September, but they had *signed* it, as already mentioned, on the 12th of August; now, the *Dunfermline Declaration* is dated the 16th; therefore the apology they set up in defence of this proceeding, only aggravates the infamy of their guilt!

Alas!—They well knew, that the King, then in the hands of the Covenanters, was reduced to the most miserable and abject state of captivity, and that this declaration was not only extorted by compulsion, but that it was in diametrical opposition to his well known sentiments, so frequently expressed to their own Agents at Paris, and so often communicated to Ormond under his hand!*

* The King had written to Ormond from Breda, Jan^r 23, N. S. that, though he had consented to treat with the Scots, he would never agree to their proposals for his violating the Irish peace, but, on the contrary, that he *would fulfil and perform all concessions made or promised*, and rather *entarge*, than diminish, or infringe, in the least degree. Ormond's Originals, A A. 329, B B. 223, 268, 337, C C. 50.

131. The truth is, that the episcopal schemes of dominion were in agitation long before, as shall be seen in the sequel.

Their first letter to Ormond, intimating their intention to meet at *Jamestown*, was signed by the Archbishops of Dublin and Tuam, so far back as July 24, 1650.

“*The four Archbishops, say they, have resolved to meet at Jamestown about the 6th of next month, with as many of the Suffragans as may repair thither with safety,—The end of this consideration is to do what in us lies for the amendment of all errors, &c. If your Excellency will think fit to send one or more persons to make proposals for the safety of the whole nation, wee shall not want willingness to prepare a good answer,*” &c.*

Here it is most evident that they had laid their *Jamestown* plan, not only before the *Dunfermline* Declaration could have reached them, but even *long before it was made*.

132. Ormond's reply is dated Roscommon, Aug. 2.—It conveys a gentle hint that their meeting was illegal; but that if they will effectually put an end to those practices, by which

* Essex MS. Stowe, v. 1, fol. 78. This Letter is correctly edited by Clarendon in *Rebel* p. 190.

they had hitherto *fomented rebellion* against the King's authority, the happy effect of their meeting would be acknowledged, *without questioning the authority by which they met.**

The next letter in the collection now before me, is the Letter of Credit, which they sent by the Bishop of *Dromore* and *Dr. Kelly*, as already stated, with a verbal message to Ormond, desiring that he would quit the kingdom!—This letter is dated Jamestown, Aug. 10, 1650, and signed by *H. Armach, Jo. Tuam, N. Fernensis, et Procurator Arch. Dublin, Jo. Rapotensis, Eug. Killmorensis, Antonius Clu-macnois. Archidiacon. et Procurator Leighlin.*

Next follow the declaration and excommunication of Jamestown, signed and dated the 11th and 12th of August, before it was possible to receive Ormond's answer to their message of the 10th, and *four days* before the King had signed the Declaration of Dunfermline!

* Essex MS. *ibid.* v. 1, from fol. 78—82. I have collated this MS. with Clarendon's edition, p. 192, where it is perfectly correct. Curry suppresses dates, and palliates facts!

Ormond's subsequent expostulations, entreating of them to desist, and entreating in vain, may be seen in the Stowe MS. so often quoted from, fol. 85 to fol. 171.

I now leave it to the candor of all who will honour these sheets with an attentive perusal, whether the Jamestown proceedings were owing to any pretended violation of faith on the part of the King.

133. No—The true cause is plainly enough expressed by the Bishops themselves, in their reply to the Catholic Nobility, who expostulated with them by written *proposals*, which were dated and forwarded to them Oct. 29, 1650. One of the reasons which they allege in reply, is “*the scandal it would cause over all the world, to make choice of one of a different religion, especially in Rome, where his Holiness, in his agreement, or articles with the Queen of England, had a Catholic Governor granted, but not performed.*”*

Here the secret stands confessed by an argu-

* Essex MSS. ib. fol. 159.

ment which would uncrown the King himself! Ormond's remark on it may be seen at the bottom of this page.*

134. It is true indeed that some of those Bishops assembled at Galway, September 13, and wrote to others of their fraternity to suspend their sentences; but the following letter from the Bishop of Clonfert and Dr. C. Kelly, to the Officers in Clanricard's camp, dated the 16th, and the next to some of the Gentry of Leinster who adhered to them, shew that no exhortation could induce them to submit.

To the Officers in Lord Clanricard's camp.

Sirs,

Yesterday we received an express from the rest of our congregation at Galway, bearing their sense to suspend the effects of the excommunication, &c. fearing on the one side,

* Now at length they are come plainly to shew the true ground of their exceptions to us, which they have endeavoured all the while to disguise, under the personal scandals they have endeavoured to cast upon us. They are afraid of scandal at Rome, for *making choice*, as they call it, (as if they might choose their Governor,) of one of a different religion.—If these be allowed, why may they not next pretend to the same fear of scandal for having a King of a different Religion we know not.

the disposition of the army (to resist it) and on the other side, having received most certain intelligence of the enemy's approach, &c.

As for our part, wee doe judge that suspension to be unnecessary, and full of inconveniencies, which wee apprehend may ensue, because the excommunication *may be obeyed*, and the service *not neglected*, if people were pleased to undertake the service in *the Clergye's names*, without relation to the Lord of Ormond, or any that may take his part. Yet fearing the censure of singularity, &c. also fearing the weakness of some, which wee believe the congregation (of Galway) feared, wee are pleased to follow the major vote, and against our own opinion concurr with them, and doe hereby suspend the said censure as above; *provided always*, that, after that service of Athlone, against the approaching enemy be performed, or the service be thought unnecessary by the Clergy, or when the said Clergy will renew it, it shall be presently incurred, as if the said suspension had never been interposed.

Your assured loving friends in Christ J.

Corbegg,

Walter B. of Clonfert.

16 Sep. 1650.

Ch. Kelly.

Our very good Lords and Sirs,

The Colonells Mr. Alex. Mac Donnell, Brian O'Neile, and Randall Mac Danniell, like obedient children of the Holy Church, have offered themselves to put up for the Clergy, and that, before the publication of the declaration and excommunication. God will bless their good intentions. They goe now to joyne with you on this side of Shannon, and by making one body, to putt forward our cause.

This is the best way wee can think of to encourage the well-affected, and curbe the malignant and obstinate. The Lord Bishop of Killaloe, being taken prisoner by the Lord

Lidutentant, the cavaleers would have had him forthwith hanged, if his Excellency had given way thereto.* His Excellency is giving patents to as many Catholiques as are *communication-proof*. Ireland is an accursed Country, that hath so many rotten members. Though things goe hard with us, God will bring the worke to a good end. When you meet with these Colonells, confert of what a service to take in hand—*est periculum in mora*.—Praying to God to protect you in your waies, wee remain your very loving friends,

Jo. Rapotensis.

Fr. Aladen.

Arch. Fernensis.

To our very good Lord the Earl of Westmeath, the Lords Bishops of Loughlin, Cluanmacnoise, and Dromore, Sir James Preston Kt. Col. Brian Mac Phelim, Col. Lewis More, Col. Arthur Fox, and the rest of the Commanders of the Leinster forces.†

* Had this fellow been hanged, the Castabalas of that day would have styled him a martyr, though he was taken in arms against the King.

† Essex MS. v. 1, fol. 90, &c. Ormond's remark on this Letter is—"Hence it appears that however their practices
 "found subjects fitt to be wrought upon in loose people,
 "addicted to rebellion and rapine, for such are all those they
 "have still esteemed *obedient children of the Holy Church*, yett
 "had they not power to draw together any considerable party,
 "to sett up their new Government, only they were able to
 "hinder the established Government from opposing the enemy."
 Ormond's Declaration at Kilcolgan, Decr. 2, 1650. Essex MS. *ibid.* fol. 92.

135. Before the Jamestown assembly broke up, the Bishops appointed a Committee, to act by their authority during their recess. These gave out commissions for levying soldiers; they encouraged idle tales, and Milesian prophecies, that the ancient Irish Dynasty of the O'Conors of Connacht was to be restored; they appointed the rendezvous of the new levies at O'Connor Don's castle of *Ballintober*, where

This Letter proves, that, in spite of the Bishops, the Nobility and Gentry remained loyal. These proceedings are not therefore to be imputed to the Irish nation.

Clarendon declares that—"all the sober professors of the Catholic religion at that juncture, abhorred them. Most of the Commissioners of trust, the principal Nobility, and most considerable Gentry, remained in their particular affection and resolution, *firm and unshaken* in their devotion to the King, and in their submission to the authority of his Lieutenant, *notwithstanding that excommunication*; and not only the whole Nobility and Gentry of fortune and interest, some very few excepted, but also *many pious and learned men of the secular and regular Clergy*, and even some of the Bishops, *did abhor and abominate the proceedings of that Congregation, and the doctrine they infused into the people, and it was disowned by some of those Bishops last mentioned, as being obtruded on them by the major vote, or done by their Procurators without their assent.*" Clarend. Ir. Rebel. p. Carte agrees, v. 2, p. 134, 135. The Irish nation is therefore, acquitted by both.

400 horse and 1500 foot under *Alex.* and *Randal Mac Donnel*, from Ulster, 4000 foot and some horse under *Bernard Mac, Felim Byrne, Lisagh O' More*, and *Dan. Cavenagh* from Leinster, great forces under the Lord *Roche, O'Sullivan*, and *O'Driscoll* from Munster, and *Murtoch O'Brian's* regiment, which had opposed Ormond's entrance into Limerick, were expected to attend.

Such were the proceedings of the foreign-influenced faction, when Cromwell's fanatical forces were ready to pass the Shannon, to carry all the devastations and horrors of war into the last Province that remained in their hands, and to put the last expiring remains of national virtue, religion, and loyalty to the sword!

136. Cromwell eagerly and ably availed himself of these episcopal intrigues. Knowing that there were vast bodies of the Irish, which might be drawn together in several armies, *much greater and superior in number to all his forces*; he gave full liberty to all Irish Officers, and other persons, to raise what men they would, and transport them from Ireland, for

the service of any foreign Princes, with whom they could make the best conditions; and he gave notice to the Spanish and French Agents, at London, of the liberty he had granted.

Upon this, many Officers who had served the King, and were in great poverty, made conditions with *Don Alonzo de Cardinas*, to raise regiments and transport them into Spain; and many Officers, who were already in Spain as well English as Irish, contracted with that Court, to raise and transport several regiments into that kingdom from Ireland, for which they received such great sums of money in hand, that, in *very few months above a year*, there were embarked in the ports of Ireland, above *twenty-five thousand* for Spain, whereof very few lived to return!

There were not fewer than *twenty thousand* men, at the same time, transported out of Ireland into France! Yet, notwithstanding all the contracts which the confederate Catholics had made with Ormond, he could not draw together a body of 5000 men, by which he might have arrested the current of Cromwell's

successes; whilst Cromwell himself found a way to send above 40,000 men out of the kingdom, for the service of foreign Princes, and to transport an equal number into the plantations in the West Indies! Thanks to that pretended episcopal power, called *spiritual*, which claimed a right to decide in the Synod of Jamestown, on all matters touching the Irish Church. Such is spiritual pride—such is the ambition of uncontrolled power, when masked with the hypocritical canting of religion!

Ormond's answer to their calumnies—from the Essex MSS. at Stowe, vol. 1. —

137. One of the episcopal censures, most calculated to injure Ormond, was that he gave places of trust and emolument *only to Protestants*.—I give his answer in his own words.—

Answer.—“ Wee have done more, says he, for the satisfaction of this nation, than wee were obliged unto; for if wee had but divided equally betwixt Protestants and R. Catholiques, wee had performed the Articles to the R. Catholiques, in the most favourable construction they could bear; yett was the Generall of the horse, the Master of the ordnance, the Major Generall, the Lieutenant Generall of the horse, and, for

a good while, the *Commissary Generall* of the horse, the *Mustermaster Generall*, the *Commissary Generall*, of the victualls, and the *Quartermaster Generall* both of the horse and foot, all of *his Majesty's R. Catholiques of this kingdom*; places certainly, that as they are more than two parts of the three of the generall places of an army, soe are they of honour, proffit, and trust; and most of these were conferred on such as were instanced unto us by the Assembly that concluded the peace with us; though, by the Articles, there was not soe much as one person to instance, either in the Assembly, or by the Commissioners.

To save time, wee omit to mention the many Colonells and inferior Officers, of the R. Catholique religion, we gave commissions unto; though these also be places of honour, proffit, and trust. But it is considerable, in this particular, that in the army in Connaught, which, under the conduct of the Lord M. of *Clanricard*, commanding as Generall, reduced the whole Province, there was *not one Protestant Officer* that wee remember; and now we leave it to any reasonable person to judge, whether commands have not more than indifferently been conferred on R. Catholiques, and whether we are justly charged with the breach of the Articles, &c.*

Wee appeal to the muster rolls whether the *whole army*, in *all places of this kingdom*, did not consist of much more than were promised in the Articles. Wee are confident that the Protestant Officers were not *by a third* soe many as the R. Catholique, though we find noe proportion prescribed by the

* "Drogheada was put into the hands and trust of Sir
"Arthur Aston, a R. Catholique, and the greatest part of the
"soldiers and officers of that garrison were R. Catholiques."
Essex MSS. Ib. fol. 133.

Articles.* It argues a strange degree of malice to object to us, that the rebels, whilst before Waterford, were not outforced by us. It is openly known that, in person, wee twice conducted men for the defence of Waterford, and compelled them to raise the siege, and the *refusing a garrison*, and *other disobediencies* of that city,† were the inducements moving them to return, when by this measure they had rettyred to winter quarters so harassed, as that their speedy marching forth was not to be feared. Wee designed the regaining of *Carriage and Passage* first, and then of *Rosse and Wexford*, and to that effect brought with us a party of horse and foot, but wee were so farre from gaining admittance into Waterford, or to lye under their walls, that for these our good intentions, it was there brought in question, at a *Council held amongst some of the city*, whether wee and the men wee brought, should not be *fallen upon as enemies!*‡ To this visible cause, and to the example thereby taken by Limerick, may be attributed all the following success of the rebels.”

After refuting several other calumnies, he proceeds thus—
 “With these, and such other slanderous pretences, they took the kingdom to themselves, and without soe much *as making any Adresse to his Majesty*, or pretending to have received any direction or *commission from him*, they declare to the

* Ormond's Declaration from Kilcolgan, Dec. 2, 1650, Essex MS. v. 1, fol. 105, &c.

† This was perfectly well known to the Bishops, whose Agents in *Wexford, Waterford, Limerick*, and other towns, fomented this disobedience, but in order to render Ormond odious, and to get the supreme power into their own hands, they *stickled at nothing*.

‡ Why did not the Bishops excommunicate these? Compare Clarend. *Ir. Rebel*, p. 146, 147, and 152.

people, that they are no longer obliged to obey any order or command from the person, by commission authorized by him, but to observe the form of Government they shall prescribe, whereby it is to be observed, that as they take it upon them, when they please, and in the highest temporall affaires in the world, to declare the sense of the people without their consent, soe they evidently assume the power of *dissolving and erecting* the temporall Government of the kingdom; and this they say, they found themselves bound in conscience to do, which being a pretence inscrutable, and at all times ready to be taken up, can *only be answered by the Laws of the Land*, that will not allow the excuse of conscience, for taking up a purse in the highway, or for acts of high treason."

Ormond quits the kingdom.—Lord Clanricard succeeds him.

138. I am as anxious as any man can be, to come to a conclusion of this narrative.—But the motives of men, as far as they are disclosed, must be related, the passions must be brought to throw off their mask, religion must be vindicated, and holy villany must be revealed.

In spite of the Jamestown excommunication, it appears that a very formidable body of Catholics, whom the Bishops styled *Ormondists*, and *excommunicated Schismatics*, still adhered to the King; and therefore, though Ormond

had obtained leave from the King to resign the Lieutenancy to Lord Clanricard, he resolved, before his departure, to do away, in favour of the loyal Catholics, every impression made by the King's extorted Declaration of *Dunfermline*, of which the Bishops had so hypocritically availed themselves, in order to establish their own dominion, under the name and appearance of *spiritual power*.—With this view he declared by an Instrument, now before me,* that the King's act at *Dunfermline*, was extorted by regicides, and that he would, at all hazards, adhere to the peace of Kilkenny, and assert the validity of it to bind the King, provided the Bishops would revoke their Jamestown Acts, as treasonable violations of the peace, usurping on the King's authority, &c. and that the Lord Lieutenant should be suffered to place garrisons where he deemed expedient.

139. He wished to insist on other articles, as appears by his private letter to Lord Clanricard, one of which was a formal recognition, on the

* In the Essex MSS. at Stowe, v. 1, fol. 146.

part of the Bishops, that their spiritual power was limited to the administration of the Sacraments; that they had no right to meddle in the affairs of the kingdom; that they were bound to obey any Governor the King appointed; and that they had no power to absolve the people from obedience to a Protestant Lord Lieutenant.

But the most loyal of the Catholic Nobility, advised him that the time was not yet come, and that when it should come, as, from the wild ambition which the Bishops betrayed, it infallibly must come, they would effectually co-operate to that most desirable end.

140. The answer of the Commissioners to Ormond's *Declaration* against the extorted Act of *Dunfermline*, is such as became Irishmen.—I wish the limits I have prescribed to myself, would admit of my giving it here, but I have already exceeded these limits, and time and trouble can never be repaid.—It is signed by *Nicholas Plunket*,* *Rich. Barnewall*, *R. Ene-*

* Though Plunket was so much under the government of the Bishops, that he consented to be their Agent to Rome, yet,

Card, R. Belling, Athunry, Lucas Dillon, Geoffry Browne, Gerald Fennell, and dated Ennis, 20th Oct. 1650.

After expressing their indignation at the conduct of the Bishops, they declare that—

“ Albeit we knowe that by those Censures of the Bishops, his Majesty’s authority was invaded, and an unwarranted Government set upp, contrary to the Laws of the Kingdom, and that wee are assured no subject could be justly warranted by that excommunication, to *deny obedience* to his Majesty’s authority in your Excellencie, yet being of opinion, that a Publique Declaration of this kind ought properly, and would with more countenance and authority move from an Assembly than from us, wee most humbly beseech your Excellencie to call an Assembly of the nation, from whom such a Declaration as may be effectual, can only proceed.”

141. In consequence of this suggestion, Ormond called that National Assembly which met at *Lochrea*, Nov. 15, 1650. It was composed of the principal Nobility and Gentry that then remained in the kingdom, “ *far the greatest part of whom*, says Carte, were well affected to the crown, and very averse to the proceed-

now seeing the length they had gone, he on all occasions in the Assembly, asserted the royal authority. *Clanricard’s Memoirs*, Carte, v. 2, p. 139.

“ings of the Clergy.”* He deemed it beneath his dignity, as the King’s Lieutenant, to make any reply to the falsehoods propagated by the Episcopal Rebels of Jamestown, which, however fatally they influenced the mass of the ignorant, “were abominated by all men of sense, knowledge, and integrity, throughout the nation.”†

In compliance however with the wishes of Lord Clanricard, and of the most loyal members of that Assembly, he submitted to them on Dec. 5, his Letter dated the 2d, containing a full, clear, and perspicuous refutation of the *Jamestown censures*; a Letter which was never answered, and never can; and he informed them that now he had fully resolved to quit the kingdom.

142. The Assembly acknowledged, by a letter dated the 30th, “*the great testimony which he had given of his affection to the nation*; and

* Carte’s Orm. v. 2, p. 135, and the Originals, v. 3, C C. 437, 440, 441, 450, 452.

† Carte’s words, ib. and p. 136.

“ entreated of him, since he had resolved to
 “ depart, that he would leave the King’s power
 “ in safe hands.”

He had previously obtained the King’s consent to resign the Lieutenancy to Lord Clanricard; and now, wishing to secure him against the *censures*, and intrigues, which had frustrated all his own endeavours for the salvation of his Country, he replied, that “ if by some
 “ *Public Instrument*, they would vindicate the
 “ King’s power from affronts already offered,
 “ and would provide for the future, he would
 “ readily comply.”

His object was to obtain an unequivocal declaration against the intermeddling of Bishops. But the debates which ensued were protracted; and having intelligence that armed ships would soon be detached to intercept his escape, he commissioned Clanricard to act for the King, as he might be encouraged or deterred by the Assembly, of whose debates he had too much reason to doubt the result; and he embarked for France on the 6th of Dec. 1650.

Alarmed by this decisive measure, and

fearing the consequences of those distractions which were likely to ensue from the Jamestown principles, the Nobility and Gentry moved in the Assembly, that a letter should be dispatched, praying him to wait one day longer, and assuring him that a *satisfactory* declaration should be laid before him next day: this motion was carried; and a letter conveying it was delivered to him, when under sail in the Bay.

Having received this letter, he anchored at Gleneinach on the 7th; and, on the 10th, he received their *declaration*, “that neither the
 “Lords *spiritual* nor temporal, neither the
 “Clergy nor the Laity, could *alter* or *take*
 “away the royal authority, vested in the King’s
 “Lieutenant.”—It must be obvious to all that this declaration was by no means satisfactory; for it did not advert to the duty of allegiance to a *Protestant* Lieutenant, which was the true nucleus of the question; and yet it was the strongest that could then be obtained! The religious cry raised by the Jamestown censures amongst the mob, was too loud for the sober and rational Catholics of the king-

dom. The declaration of Dunfermline, had given the Bishops a decided preponderance with the mass of the ignorant; and though the Commissioners of trust, the Nobility, the Gentry, and a great number of the second order of the Clergy, conjured them to revoke their censures, and, in this critical juncture, when they had the enemy in their front, and only the Western ocean in their rear, to support the Government, yet, neither their imminent danger, nor these entreaties, nor the most obvious suggestions of genuine Catholicity could induce them to comply. They continued their clamours; invoked the divine wrath on those who opposed their censures, or the Nuncio's; and to the contempt of *ecclesiastical excommunications* they ascribed all those calamities, which they had so manifestly occasioned themselves!

Ormond therefore, seeing that the Assembly did not dare to condemn the Jamestown proceedings, and that those who would move for such a censure would be treated as *heretics*, abstained from insisting on a motion so dan-

gerous; wrote to the Assembly that he had committed the royal authority to Lord Clanricard, provided their declaration was so far explained, as to satisfy him of their obedience in future; and having thus satisfied his conscience, to the uttermost of his power, he sailed in the depth of winter, Dec. 11, 1650.

Clanricard, first Catholic Viceroy since the Reformatoin.—How obeyed by the Bishops.

143. I have already stated, that though *Clanricard* was a Catholic Nobleman, and one of the most ancient, respectable, and popular in Ireland, yet, since he was not the *sort of Catholic*, who would *blindly* submit to ecclesiastical censures, his appointment was very unpleasant to the Bishops.—Anxious to wipe away from his religion and country the disgrace which had been brought upon both, solicitous to preserve some appearance of the royal authority, animated by a loyalty which was sublimed by religion, and eager to make a powerful diversion in favour of the loyalists in

England, he accepted the Government, provided assurances of obedience, more explicit than those which had been made to Ormond, would be tendered to him.

144. But the Bishops instantly opposed this proposal. They rejected every clause, and every explanation, which might convey any reflection, directly or indirectly, on their Synod of Jamestown; they declared that they would pay Clanricard as great obedience, as *any Catholic Clergy, in Catholic times*, had ever paid to a *Catholic Governor*, and with this, they said, that he ought to be content.

Clanricard's experience, however, taught him to mistrust a declaration so qualified;—he knew that they still harped upon the King's declaration of *Dunfermline*, and it was impossible, after Ormond's explanation on that subject, that they could be sincere.—Independently of that explanation, the act of *Dunfermline* bore *internal evidence* of compulsion; it was well known that all the King's servants were driven away from him, as soon as he had landed in Scotland, and that one of these

was *Daniel O'Nial*, the most popular man in all Ireland!* Daniel had arrived in Holland from Ormond, just as the King was ready to embark, and being invited to attend him, accompanied him to Scotland; but he was no sooner known there, says Clarendon, "than he" "was apprehended, by order of the Council, "for being an Irishman, and having been in "arms in the late King's behalf, in the late

* "He was appointed Governor of Trim, under the command of Lord Dillon, and was a native of Ireland, who manifested great affection for this nation." Essex MSS. in the Stowe Collection, v. 1. fol. 133.

"The manner of his coming into command was this.—As he had taken great paines with his Uncle *Owen O'Neale*, to submit to the peace and his Majesty's Government, soe did he effectually labour, after, to bring the Ulster army to our assistance. Owen O'Neale being sick, the Ulster army was conducted by Lieutenant General Farrell, and Major General Hu: O'Neale, but when it joyned with the Leinster, Munster, and Connaught forces, and with some English and Scottish horse and foote, wee found great difficulty how to distribute orders with satisfaction to all those parties, the Ulster army being unwilling to receive them by Major General *Purcel*, and the rest as unwilling to receive them by Major General *Hu: O'Neale*. But *all parties* were content to receive them from *Daniel O'Neale*, and by him they were distributed." Ormond's Answer to the Bishops, Essex MSS. ib. fol. 107, 108.

“ war, for which they were not without some
 “ discourse of *putting him to death*. But they
 “ immediately banished him, and obliged him
 “ to sign a paper, by which he *consented to*
 “ *be put to death*, if he were ever after found
 “ in that kingdom.”*

This happened so far back as in June 1650, and how could they, who knew so well what passed *on the 16th of August, at Dunfermline*, be ignorant of a *preceding* fact so notorious?

Difficulties he had to contend with.

145. Independently of these glaring facts, there were others of a still more decisive complexion, which made Lord *Clanricard* extremely diffident of any declarations which the Bishops might be induced by the firmness of the Nobility and Gentry to subscribe; for, to say nothing of their violation of the peace of 1646, or of their censures throughout the course of that and the ensuing year, there were several documents in his hands, which placed their

* Clarend. Rebel. v. 3. Oxford, fol. p. 286.

insidious designs beyond the reach of all controversy, and the possibility of all doubt. I have already observed that they opposed the cessation with *Inchiquin*, alleging as a reason, that he was a *heretic*, and that too, whilst they were secretly treating with the Parliament!

Lord Clanricard had obtained a copy of this *declaration*, which they had signed *privately* at the Nuncio's house in Kilkenny, on the 27th of April, 1648, as stated above. It was subscribed by the following Bishops, and in the following order—

Hugo *Ardmach*. Fr. Thomas *Dublin*. Thomas *Cassel*. Joannes *Tuam*. Electus, Franciscus *Alladensis*. Fr. Patricus *Waterford et Lismor*. Edmundus *Limeric*. Emerus *Clocher*. Fr. Boetius *Ross*. Robertus *Corcagien et Clonen*. Fr. Antonius *Cluanmacnois*. Fr. Terentius *Jmlacen*. Andreas *Fenuborensis*. Fr. Arthurus *Dunen et Connoren*.*

In this declaration, entitled “ *Per Archie-*

* I have collated my MS. with another that I saw at S. Isidore's at Rome, amongst the papers of Father Wadding. Belling says rightly, that the Bishops who signed it were in number fourteen, but he refers it to the 23d of April; whereas, in the MSS. I have consulted, it is dated the 27th, and so it is in the Florentine MS. collated by Burke, as in his Supplement to *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 889.

“ *piscopos et Episcopos Regni Hiberniæ congregatos coram Illmo, &c. D. J. B. Rinuccino Nuntio Apostolico Extraordinario,*” &c. they expressly protest against the *Cessation with Inchiquin*, declaring it “*iniquitous*, and such as “*no Catholic could in conscience subscribe.*”*

146. Lord Clanricard had also the Nuncio's excommunication, which was published May 28th following, and subscribed, with their consent, not only by the Nuncio, but by Emer *Clogherensis*, Boetius *Rossensis*, Robertus *Clovanensis* et *Corcagiensis*, Fr. Arthurus *Dunensis*.†—In addition to these documents, he had *Owen Roe's* treaty with Monk, which was concluded with the *Nuncio's approbation*;‡ and he also knew that as soon as these *acts* of

* “*Nos videntes ab ill. mis Dominis supremi concilii tractari de Armorum Cessatione cum D. Barone de Inchiquin concludenda, &c. conscientia moti, eandem Cessationem iniquam esse declaramus, ac nulli tutum in conscientia illam amplecti,*” &c.

† Carve gives it at full length in his *Lyra*, p. 346.

‡ “*Epistola Generalis Eugenii O'Neilli ad Munckium, in qua perpetuum cum sacrilego Parlamento Anglico fædus mire cupivit; annuente quippe Nuncio.*” *Lyra*, p. 354.

their's were discovered, and the tide ran strong against them,* they issued a *declaration* on the 23d of January, 1649, disavowing their above mentioned declaration of April 27, 1648; boldly asserting that they *had never* opposed a cessation with Inchiquin, “ which experience, say they, has shewn to have been necessary, for the salvation of the Country !”†

* The Gentry's *Appeal* against the Nuncio, is amongst Wadding's MSS. at S. Isidore's in Rome; it was printed at Kilkenny in 1648, and is dated May 31, of that year. It shews that, of all persecutors, those who persecute persons of their own communion, with the *spiritual* sword, as they term it, are the most implacable.—The great seal of the *Supreme Council* is annexed to a Petition in the same MS. addressed by that Council to Urban VIII, entreating that he would name Father Wadding a Cardinal. The motto is “ *Pro Deo, Rege, et Patria, Hibernia unanimis.*”

† “ Nos infra scripti testamur quod *Declaratio 23 Aprilis*, anno 1648, a quibusdam hujus Regni Episcopis subscripta, neque est neque nunquam fuit *edita*, (this is a vile subterfuge.—True—they did not *publish* it, but they left it in the Nuncio's hands, to be published by him whenever he thought fit,) contra Cessionem armorum, quæ postea inter fœderatos Hiberniæ Catholicos et D. Baronem de *Inchiquin* conclusa fuit, et publicata 2^o Maii, anno 1648, verum contra *certos quosdam Articulos*, ex iis qui exhibiti fuerant, dicto mense Aprili, quique postea mutati et emendati fuerant.” Compare the original which they thus *disavow*, above, p. 411, note.

147. Having all these and many more documents of tergiversation in his hands, and seeing that those Bishops unsaid one day what they had said on the day before, how could Clanricard receive any declaration from them without suspicion, how admit them to his Councils without mistrust!

With all their *professions*, they maintained the doctrine, which Bishops depending on the Roman Court maintain *to this day*, that censures, *however unjust*, are binding, until those who are censured submit to absolution; and that therefore, such of the Irish as resisted the Rinuccini censures, were an excommunicated people; a stigma which attached to the principal Nobility and Gentry of the kingdom, so

“Testamur quoque *nunquam nobis in animo fuisse Cessationem armorum, cum dicto Barone de Inchiquin factam, improbare; cum evidenter nobis innotuisset eam necessariam fuisse, et vero innumera damna calamitatesque prope infinitæ quæ, ob ejus violationem, ubique per universum Regnum emergerunt, tantam ejus concludendæ servandæque necessitatem extitisse, liquidissime demonstrant. Datum Kilkennix, 23 Januarii, anno 1649.*” Then follow the subscriptions, *Johannes Archiep. Tuamensis, Fr. Ep. Alladensis, Edmund. Ep. Limericensis.* See Carve, p. 347!

strongly, that when their *Appeal* was presented to Pope Innocent X, in 1648, *he rejected it as frivolous!** Nor were they unconditionally absolved down to the year 1698; and those who pretend that Rinuccini was reprimanded for his

* “Censuræ a D. Nuntio fulminatæ in suo robore permanent; enunvero Appellatio Supremi Concilii *rejecta fuit* tanquam *frivola* ab eodem Papa Innocentio X, ut testatur Alexander VII in Bulla Absolutionis, anni 1665.” Supplement. Hib. Dom. p. 896.

“Ex his perspicue patet Appellationem *Supremi Fœderatorum Catholicorum Concilii* a D. Nuntio ad S. Pontificem Innocentium X. *frivolam fuisse*; fulminatas proinde ab eo censures in suo robore permanisse usque ad absolutionem, *per novemdecim annorum seriem.*” Ib. p. 920. And again—tandem aliquando Alexander VII, P. M. Hibernos ab ea censura absolvit, *imposita ipsis pœnitentia salutari*, anno 1665, ut diserte refert Wareus in Annalibus ad annum istum, non autem omnimode completa fuit absolutio ista usque ad annum 1698, quo completam obtinuit, *post diuturnam sollicitationem.* Ill. mus ac Rev. D. Fr. Dominicus De Burgo Eps. Elphia. anno 1698. Hib. Dom. p. 691.

“Adduci non possum ut redam, says he again, quod passim fertur, Papam Innocentium X, ei dixisse *temerarie tegessisti.* Si enim id verum esset, cito, et haud difficulter, ab Anathemate isto liberarentur Nostrates; cujus tamen contrarium patet. Anathema enim istud auferre recusavit Alexander VII, anno 1658, neque sustulit (etiam conditionate) usque ad annum 1665, sub conditione nempe, ut se subicerent *pœnitentiæ salutari.*” ib. For the *humiliating condition* of the absolution, see the first part of this *Address*, p. 103.

censures, on his return to Rome, are either imposed upon themselves, or endeavour to mislead us by a corruption of history; for those Irish Bishops, who were the greatest favourites, as they were the greatest sycophants of the Roman Court, have triumphantly asserted, that Rinuccini never was reprimanded for his censures; but, on the contrary, that these censures were *confirmed*, and insisted upon as binding upon all Catholics, down to the year 1698, when the nation was absolved!—This doctrine is repeatedly asserted by *Bishop Burke*, and that too, so lately as in 1772, when he published his Supplement to his *Hibernia Dominicana*!

148. No—Clanricard knew well that Rinuccini was not reprimanded for his *censures*; but because, on two occasions, when he wished to gain over our Nobility and Gentry to his designs, he boasted of his *fidelity to the royal cause*!—For this, Cardinal *Pamfili*, the Pope's Secretary of State, wrote to him from Rome, May 20, 1646, in these words.—

“ The Holy See, never can, by *any positive act*, approve of the *civil allegiance* of Catholic subjects to an heretical Prince.—From this maxim of the Holy See, have arisen the

“ many difficulties and disputes in England about *oaths of*
 “ *allegiance* ; and his Holiness’s displeasure is the greater, be-
 “ cause you have left the original of this your speech, in the
 “ hands of the Catholic confederates, which, if published, will
 “ furnish heretics with arguments against the Pope’s power
 “ over heretical Princes, seeing that his Minister exhorts the
 “ Catholics of Ireland, to allegiance to an heretical King.—

“ You must therefore withdraw the original, and suppress all
 “ copies of the said speech, and never indulge in such speeches
 “ again !”*

On a subsequent occasion, when he condemned the peace of 1646, and, in order to strengthen his party by pretended loyalty to the King, which he knew would gain him some friends amongst the Irish Gentry, he made the Bishops subscribe a declaration against any peace, unless ample conditions were made for religion, *the King*, and the Country, Pamfili wrote to him a second letter, still more pointed

* Nuncio’s Memoirs, in Mr. Cook’s Library at Holkham, fol. 1245, 1384, 1387, with *Dr. Birch’s* Extracts, in the British Museum, and Cardinal Pamfili’s Letters to Rinuccini, in Carte’s Orm. v. 1, p. 578. On receipt of Pamfili’s Letter, Rinuccini, pretending that he had lost or mislaid his copy of his speech, applied to Lord Mt. Garret for the original, and returned in its stead a mutilated copy, in which the *Roman objectionable* passages were omitted ! Carte *ib.*

than the former, dated Rome, December 10, 1646, and informing him plainly—

“ That it had been the *constant*, and *uninterrupted* practise
 “ of the *Holy See*, (for so the Roman Courtiers always call
 “ their *Court*,) never to allow its Ministers to make or to
 “ consent to any public edict of Catholic subjects, for the
 “ defence of the crown and person of an *heretical Prince* ;
 “ that this conduct of his, furnished pretences to the enemies
 “ of the Holy See, to reflect upon her, as deviating from the
 “ maxims of *sound policy*, to which she had *ever yet adhered* ;
 “ and that the Pope desired, that he would not by any public
 “ act shew that he *knew*, or *consented* to any declaration of
 “ allegiance, which Irish Catholics might, for *political reasons*,
 “ be compelled, or willing to make to the King.”*

149. It is absolutely necessary that my Countrymen should be informed of these intrigues, which have at all times furnished grounds for calumniating their religion, and persecuting their ancestors and themselves ! They see these principles maintained by Bishop Burke, and by the *ad libitum* Vicars Apostolic,

* Nuncio's Memoirs *ibid.* and Carte's *Orm.* v. 1, p. 579. We shall see these principles adhered to by our Bishops in 1774, and in the subsequent periods of our history. Those who fancy that the present *oath of allegiance* sufficiently provides against such principles, have only to read *Columbanus*, who hopes that he has some merit in vindicating the Catholic Church against the obloquy they have caused to her.

and Bishops of Ireland, *down to our own times*; and can it be supposed that any Protestant Government will grant *unqualified* emancipation, as long as such principles are maintained?

It is, undoubtedly, an indisputable fact, that these Ultramontane maxims were never tolerated by Catholic France. The Irish also have, by a plausible *oath of allegiance*, disavowed all direct and *indirect* power of the Pope, over the temporalities of the State, asserting only his power in *spirituals*; but it is equally a fact, that, under cover of this word *spirituals*, the Bishops have, within these last two years, claimed *exclusive* power of deciding on *all matters*, touching the Irish Church! They declare also, that no Bishop can be appointed but by the Pope, against whose *indirect* power that very oath has been expressly and deliberately framed! It is also a fact, that, within this very last year, they have informed us, that all Catholics are bound as strictly to the *discipline* of the Council of Trent, as they are to the Sacraments; and that any Catholic Member of Parliament, who will

dare to vote on any question touching that discipline, shall be held a *schismatic* !

150. Lord Clanricard not only knew that he had to contend with these political maxims of the Roman Court, in the bosom of his own Church, but that the Bishops had Emissaries who maintained these doctrines in every part of the kingdom, at the very time when they were making the most ample professions of loyalty to the Government ! Ormond had sent to *Mr. Caron* a list of twenty-four Friars who preached for the Roman censures, and against the King's Government, on the 15th and 22d of May, 1649, specifying the acts of treason they had committed, and the writings they had published, in which they insisted on an union with the regicides rather than with the King.*

One of these treasonable pamphlets published in Rome, entreated of the Pope to alienate the crown of Ireland !† The proceedings at

* See Carve's *Lyra*, from p. 353—370.

† Father Bonadventure Quin's letter from Rome, mentioning this Pamphlet, was intercepted by Cromwell, and published by the Parliament in London.

Jamestown and Galway, were evidently connected with all this mass of iniquity. The very Bishops who agreed to the peace of Kilkenny, in 1649, were they who subscribed the excommunication at Jamestown on the 12th, and at Galway on the 23d of August, 1650 !

Lord Clanricard therefore insisted, and succeeded at last so far as to obtain a *declaration* from the Assembly, that—“ No
 “ *power in Ireland shall discharge the people*
 “ from due obedience to the King’s authority,
 “ vested in the M. of *Clanricard*, or any other
 “ Governor ; and in case of any such act, that
 “ no person shall, or *ought*, to be led thereby ;
 “ but, by disobedience, are subject to the laws
 “ practised in the reign of *Henry VII*, and
 “ other Catholic Princes.”

151. This vote was carried by a majority ; and yet the Bishops yielded to that majority only on condition that the Assembly would declare that, “ by the word *ought*, it was not
 “ intended to have a retrospect to any pro-
 “ ceedings of their’s !”

Strange blindness ! They had exposed their

reputation by their *actions*, much more than it could be exposed by any *words* contained in that declaration; but, conscious of their ill conduct, and still determined to persist, whenever an opportunity might offer, they endeavoured, by this *show of words*, to maintain their lofty consequence in the eyes of the people; a people whom they had resolved, with the hope of foreign assistance, to mislead!

Apprehensive of subterfuges on the part of persons who were such adepts in the quibbles of the schools, *Clanricard* would have insisted on other clauses, still more explicit; he well knew that there were numbers of the *best quality* of Catholics in the kingdom, who offered to make *any declaration* that he would direct, which might most effectually vindicate the regal power, against all censures and excommunications.

These assured him that, in their opinion, they might carry such a vote by a majority; but then, said they, who can be answerable for the consequences amongst the illiterate rabble, who are so easily misled? if any such pro-

position should be carried in the Assembly, with public disgrace to the Prelates, it will produce *protests* and censures, so covered with a veil of piety, that the most loyal and sincere Catholics in the kingdom will be stigmatized as *heretics*, by the most worthless, and the most hypocritical; these will point us out as such to the illiterate rabble of our own communion; and such a religious cry will be raised, as will obstruct the obedience of all the principal towns.

To these imperious reasons Clanricard, compelled by their urgency, thought proper to yield; and he received the *declaration*, defective as it was, and accepted of the Government under circumstances the most inauspicious, that any Lord Lieutenant of Ireland *ever had to encounter*, December 23, 1650.

The Bishops endeavour to embarrass his Government, by proposing a treaty with the Regicides.

152. Scarcely had he accepted the Government, when the Bishop of *Ferns* made a speech, Jan. 10, 1651, in which, enlarging on the

dangers the Country was involved in, he stated the advantageous terms that might be obtained from Cromwell, for the Irish people !

Was he serious? or was he only proposing a subject which might inflame the people against Clanricard, who he well knew would reject such a proposal, with the utmost indignation and disdain?—Did he expect to impose upon Cromwell, and upon all his agents and spies by pretended sincerity? What were his views? Let us look to facts.

From the time that a treaty between *Ormond* and *Inchiquin* was discovered by the Parliament, and when the treaty of Kilkenny had commenced between both and the Catholics, in 1648, the *Close Committee* at Westminster sent instructions to General *Monk*, to treat with *Owen Roe*, in order to divide him from the confederates, and to destroy them all in the end.—This treaty being concluded, *Monk* sent it the Committee, and they reported it to the Parliament. But it was no sooner reported, than the Parliament, pretending ignorance, declared *that they had given no*

authority to Monk; that the treaty was null and void; but yet that Monk should be excused; for they knew well, says Clarendon, "that he could produce such a warrant as "would well justify his proceeding." Thus the treaty with *Owen Roe* became void, after he had done them the most essential services in Ulster, by the relief of Derry, as stated above!

Enraged at this breach of faith, *Owen Roe* vowed revenge, and made his final treaty with Ormond, a little before his death, as already mentioned, in 1649.*

Now this fact was perfectly well known to *French*, who also knew that, in the course of the war, the Parliament forces treated the Irish with the most savage barbarity; that at Drogheda and Wexford they had massacred above 5000 in cold blood; that in the maritime war,

* *Perfect Diurnal*.—Sir C. Coote writing to the Council of State in England, Aug. 15, 1659, mentions *Owen Roe's* services; but he betrays the spirit of the faction even at that very time when they were most indebted to him.—“After all, “says he, call to mind, that it is no new thing with the most “wise God, to make use of *wicked instruments* to advance his “glory.” Hist of Indep. p. 245, 246.

they were still more savage, for they seldom or never gave quarter to the Irish, says Clarendon, but, “as well merchants and passengers, “as mariners which fell into their hands, as “hath been said before, were, by them, bound “back to back, and thrown into the sea.”

French knew that, from the very commencement of the rebellion, the *Malignant*, or Puritanical faction, talked of nothing less than the *extirpation* of his Catholic Countrymen, as well of the English as of the Irish race.*

Patrick *Plunket*, Baron of Dunsany, the eleventh Lord of his family, which had been ever loyal, four of his noble ancestors having been killed, and five more wounded in the service of the crown, and himself an Englishman, not

* Clarend. Rebel. 8vo. ed. Oxford, 1706, v. 2, part 1, p. 206. “They had set their hearts on the *extirpation*, not only “of the meer Irish, but likewise of all the old English “families that were Roman Catholics, and making a new “plantation all over the kingdom, in which, as they could “not fail to have a principal share, so all their reasonings “upon all occasions were calculated to promote that scheme.”
Carte's Orm, v. 1, p. 293.

course to the *rack*, to extort such confessions as might enable them, says Carte, to charge all the Catholic Gentlemen in the kingdom, and *particularly those of the Pale*, whose lands were best improved, with being concerned in the rebellion !* With this view they put *Hu: Mac Mahon* to the torture, March 22, 1642, and *Sir J. Read* next day ; but, finding that nothing could be extorted to justify this proceeding, they confined him three years in prison, in England ; and, whilst he was absent, and in prison, they had him outlawed, merely because he had undertaken, with their own permission, to carry a *remonstrance* from the Gentry of the Pale to the King !

They next tortured *Mr. Barnewall* of Kilbrew, a venerable old man, one of the most considerable Gentry of the Pale, a man whose

* In a private Letter to the Speaker of the House of Commons, in England, dated May 11, 1642, they besought the Commons to assist them with a *grant of some competent proportion of the rebels' lands*," Carte, v. 1, p. 296. Compare the Bishop of Clogher's MSS. No. iii, p. 45, with Castlehaven's Memoirs, and Vindication of them in MS. in the British Museum, Sloan MSS. and Carte's Originals, O O. p. 292.

hairs were silvered over by age, a lover of quiet, who delighted in husbandry, who was highly respected, who had never been in arms, or guilty of any crime against the State, and who was in his sixty-sixth year! But the rack extorted so little from him, and there was such a total defect of evidence, that his groans and torments disarmed the malice even of the Puritans; and when Sir Fr. Willoughby was, in the summer following, sent to gather the harvest about *Kilbrew*, he had particular instructions, *even from them*, to have tenderness for *Mr. Barnewall*!*

154. French of Ferns knew all this!—He also knew that Parliament had voted away the royal prerogative of mercy, not only with respect to forfeitures, but also with respect to the disposal of forfeited lands, and had engrossed all that power to themselves, by a Bill for raising a million of money, upon the security of two millions of forfeited acres in

* Willoughby's Letters to Ormond, Aug. 2, 5, 8, and 10, and Carte's Originals, D. 133, with v. 1, p. 301.

Ireland; that this Bill had passed so far back as March 19, 1642; and that its operation was entirely and *exclusively* levelled against the Catholics. What then could be his motive, or that of the Bishops, in proposing a treaty with the regicides? Can any thing be discovered in his *Bleeding Iphigenia*, or in his *Unkind Deserter*, or in his *Apology* published by *Marsarius*, and written in 1653, to unravel this mystery? are there no documents?

When Galway was, *much to the surprise of the world*, says Carte, compelled by Lord *Clarendon* to submit, in 1642, and without the least aid or supply, and almost without any countenance from the State, he found means to reduce one of the strongest and most important towns of the kingdom, the Lords Justices, instead of thanking him, disapproved of his granting any conditions, and sent him express orders to *give no quarter*, but to persecute all who adhered to the rebels, indiscriminately, with *fire and sword*!

They were informed that, by the terms of capitulation, a great quantity of corn, arms,

ammunition, twenty-two pieces of ordnance, were secured, and the Protestant Bishops of *Tuam*, *Clonfert*, and *Killala*, with about 400 English, preserved from the fury of the populace;* but they despised this intelligence, and issued an order that *no submissions* should be received; and “this was the *constant tenor of* “*their orders*, says Carte, though they well “knew that the soldiers, in executing them, “*murdered all persons promiscuously, not* “*sparing the women*, and, sometimes, *not the* “*children.*”† Such were French’s allies!

155. What renders Bishop French still more inexcusable is, his knowledge that the first Irish Parliament that excluded Catholic Members, June 22, 1642, was a *Puritanical Assembly*, at which not half the Members of that House were present; that on the day before,

* I have before me their acknowledgment of the humanity they experienced from the Inhabitants; and knowing as I do, that it will be read by my Countrymen, with the generous feelings of Irishmen, I shall give it in the sequel.

† See their order of May 28, 1642, in Carte’s Originals, C. 125, and his Ormond, v. 1, p. 327, &c. And their Letter of June 6, 1642, to the Commissioners for Irish affairs.

they had expelled forty-six Catholic Members without any trial; and now they ordered that no person should sit in the House, till he had first *taken the oath of supremacy*; an order, says Carte, by which a *much greater number of Catholics, who were unexceptionable in other respects*, were disqualified!

It was a new thing in Ireland, for the Commons to dictate *Tests* for the exclusion of persons, whom neither the original Constitution of Parliament, nor the law of the land had excluded; and it was the more extraordinary to do it in so *thin a House*.* They were sensible themselves, that they had need of a particular law, to warrant what they had thus arbitrarily done; and accordingly they drew up an *ex-post-facto* Bill to enforce it; a Bill trenching upon the royal prerogative; for the Kings of England had, of old, by their writs of summons, fixed the qualification of Members; and it was a cruel treatment of the King, to force him, either to authorize this encroach-

* Carte's Orm. ib. p. 328.

ment, or, by rejecting it, to give his enemies a handle for accusing him, as they frequently did, of favouring the rebellion of Catholics, in compliment to his Queen.

There was, besides, no necessity for this *Puritanical* Bill, as forty-six Catholic Members had been expelled the day before, merely because they were *accused* of corresponding with rebels ! and what Catholic Member would enter into that House, under such circumstances of oppression, such a *reign of terror* as then prevailed ? and yet surely to every thinking mind it must appear evident, that some wise men of so large a portion of subjects, ought to have seats in Parliament, were it only to restrain the turbulence of others, and to indicate those remedies that might be most congenial to their principles, so as to leave no excuse for a religious cry, in times of imminent danger to the State.

But, the wise are few, and the fools are many ; and so this sapient Parliament of 1642, sealed the slavery of their Country !

156. French of Ferns, and the Bishops, whose organ he was, knew this perfectly well ; they
r f

knew also, that when this deed of death was done, “there were *scarcely five Members of that Parliament concerned in the rebellion, and no reasonable grounds to suspect the rest;*”* and that the faction which was guilty of this monstrous crime, were in confederacy with the English faction which voted that they would “*never give toleration of the Popish religion in Ireland, or in any other of his Majesty’s dominions.*” Yes!—with that *vile forfeiture* faction, which issued a proclamation, *revoking, repealing, and annulling all protections that had been given before August 10, 1642!*†

How then could Catholic Bishops propose to a Catholic Lord Lieutenant, to confederate with such a *pandemonium of regicides*, against the rights, privileges, and inheritance of their lawful Sovereign, and of his innocent posterity? They themselves had often before declared, *whenever it served their purpose, that*

* Carte, ib. p. 230.

† Borlace’s Appendix, p. 57. Cox boasts of this wisdom, v, 2, p. 108. “*It was the wisest act that was done in the whole war!*”

it was unlawful even to make a truce with heretics! But now, actuated by a desire of rendering themselves masters of the kingdom, with the help of a foreign power, they preached and propagated every where, amongst the rabble, that the loyalists were their greatest enemies, and that there could be no safety but in a confederacy with the Parliament! a confederacy which they intended to violate as soon as the preparations they were making abroad, as shall be seen in the sequel, should be in sufficient forwardness for the manifestation of their real design.

Catholic Principles by which Lord Clanricard opposed the Bishops of his own Communion.

157. There are weak men in the world, who are discouraged from the virtue of christian fortitude by the fear of shame; there are others who are stimulated to vice by the hope of reward; and there are others still more criminal than either, who, pretending to piety, would make the most sacred institutions of religion

subservient to their designs!—Clanricard was not of these. From his infant years he had imbibed, from his noble father, that heavenly principle of hope and fear, which fixes a steady eye upon another world, with little regard to the fluctuating opinions of popular cabal; a principle of inflexible integrity, which rendered him venerable as well as formidable to the pretended religionists of his own communion, who soon found that he was quick to discern, as well as determined to punish every species of disingenuity.—Towards the Clergy he was, of all men living, the most respectful, as long as they confined themselves within the limits of their duty; when they passed these, he endeavoured to be inexorable; and in this respect it must be owned that he had a great advantage over all his predecessors. I do not mean to detract from the merit of a *Mountjoy*, or of an *Ormond*. They were great and good men. But, in this one point of view, they must yield to *Clanricard*.

Mountjoy argued with the Clergy at Waterford, and Morrison extols his abilities in

wielding the weapons of Theology against the Irish; but he soon found that he must cut the gordian-knot with his sword. Ormond endeavoured to mix expostulation with severity; and, without arguing against the *religion* of the people, he thought that he might reason with the Clergy upon the duty of submission to a Government established by law; but he soon discovered that every argument, however strong, was repelled by the episcopal censures which informed the people that he was a *heretic*, and that therefore they could not confide in his word.

Clanricard came forward, a man of their own communion, a man who well knew the difference between *true* and pretended episcopal power, a man whom no one could charge with heresy, an obedient child of the Church, in all matters of *rational* obedience, and *genuine* canonical submission, but a man of a bold and decided mind, with whom it was impossible to trifle, who had witnessed all their proceedings from the beginning of the war, who knew that they had aimed not only at all the ecclesiastical

revenues of the kingdom,* but at the kingdom itself; and now therefore, there was some reason to expect a new order of things.

It would be the height of injustice to this first Catholic Lord Lieutenant, to relate the events of those times, without adverting to the principles of religion and good faith, which distinguished him throughout the whole period of the war, and these principles cannot be better described than they repeatedly are by himself.†

158. Writing to his brother in law, the Earl of Essex, when the rebellion was most formidable, he says—

* “*Nisi concessis tam Basilicis quam prædiis Ecclesiasticis.*” Belling’s *Vindicæ*, 18, and again 177.

† The late Lord Jocelyn, writing to the late Lord Clanricard, says “I congratulate with the public on your Lordship’s resolution to print the valuable remains of your truly noble and excellent ancestor the M. of Clanricard, whose memory is held in *the highest esteem*, by all who are acquainted with the share he had in the transactions of those times; for my own part, I have so great a veneration for his character, that I think myself happy in being any way able to contribute towards making it more universally known,” Dublin, June 24, 1756.

Portumna, Jan. 20, 1642.

“ I have divided my own company for the defence of my poor Protestant tenants, that have planted very well near my two principal houses. Others of them are placed in three good castles of mine, better fitted for defence than my own family, too many for those places. An Archbishop, a Bishop, and many of the Clergy, are in the town of Galway. I am threatened on all sides, and therefore I beseech you to procure store of arms, for the storm cannot be kept much longer from me, which hath been diverted by ancient friends of my father's in these parts; and give me leave with some compassion and tenderness of nature, to commiserate the unfortunate condition of my poor wife and children, all ways being blocked up that I cannot send them into England. Whatever may be the suppositions of some in England, be assured that nothing shall ever alter my constant faithful endeavours to serve his Majesty to the utmost of my power.”

Writing to the King, Portumna, Jan. 22, 1642, he says—
“ I presume to hope that the name of Papist, will not put that blemish on the ancient and constant merit of my house, and your Majesty's own knowledge of myself, as to be an impediment to my rendering any service that your Majesty may design to be most faithfully performed, wherein, when I fail in my duty, may I feel the weight of the displeasure of God.”

Writing to Sir Ulick Burke of *Glinsk*, March 8, 1642, he says—“ I desire you will present my love to the Rev. Father *Boetius Egan*, Bishop of Elphin, and beseech him to consider what he and others must be accountable for, if persuaders of most hopeless and desperate courses. Let him and others be pleased to recollect their former reading and experience, wherein, though far more knowing, I will presume to say he can find nothing to contradict my smaller studies, having the examples of Christ, and his Apostles, and the best of all preceding ages, to shew us that religion did ever increase and

flourish by *humility*. In all this I am confirmed by the rules and instructions I have, from my childhood, received from very able and devout spiritual fathers, and from the living examples, and dying expressions of my natural father, the memory whereof must be ever most dear and precious to me. If what I have alleged will not prevail to alter their otherwise settled resolution, I shall expect that *there be no interruption given within my Government*, nor no withdrawing of their duties and affections from those rules I have or shall prescribe for the King's service, nor no thralldom put upon their consciences by compulsory oaths, not warranted by any (*legal*) authority, nor understood by few that proffer, and, I believe, by none that take them!—*Otherwise I shall be forced to severer courses than will agree with those respects I ever desire to shew to men of their reverend callings*, though some put great prejudices upon me, and overthrow my endeavours for the general good."

In his declaration, upon taking up arms for the relief of his Majesty's fort of Galway, he says—"Whereas many post up and down, and publish false and seditious reports, to draw his Majesty's subjects into defection, and to traduce my moderate, and mild proceedings, under colour of *advancing the R. Catholic religion, &c.* for the prevention therefore of these evils, I do, in the first place profess BEFORE GOD that, as I was bred in, so am I constantly resolved, so far as God shall give his assistance, to live and die in the Catholic Roman Religion, and that I shall, *by all Godly and honourable ways*, endeavour to advance and maintain the same, so far as is justifiable by the law of God, and *true construction of his Church*, which is never opposite to loyalty, wherein failing, I should count myself an unworthy member of the Catholic Church. Secondly, that I will, with all the power I can, maintain and uphold his Majesty's authority, and defend his loyal subjects, without *distinction of nation or profession*,

Thirdly, I will to the utmost of my power relieve the King's fort, and destroy with fire and sword any that shall lay siege unto it, and their adherents and abettors," &c.*

159. From these specimens we may judge, with what enthusiasm of indignation Lord Clanricard opposed the scandalous motion of the Bishop of Ferns. He declared it *high treason*; he demanded that any person who would dare to second such a motion, or, at any future period, in any emergency propose it, should be outlawed.—“It would much better become the episcopal character, said he, to censure the aiders and abettors of regicides against their Country, than to mock the royal authority, as the Bishop of *Clonfert* has lately done in a sermon, in which he informed the ignorant populace, that the King is an useless idol, a *Dagon*, who can neither protect them nor himself; nor can it become the Nobility and Gentry of a whole kingdom, who have ample fortunes to lose, to give up the government of their affairs to men, who know that, whatever

* For other instances see above, p. 332.

may happen, they will find ample refuge and welcome in foreign countries, where they will be revered even for being undone."

He reminded them that the battle of *Dungan*, where General Preston was defeated by Jones, with the loss of 6000 men, was fought on the very day twelve months after the Nuncio and Clergy at Waterford, had broken the peace of 1646;* that Cornelius O'Mahony's book, in which he maintains that the Kings of England have no right to the crown of Ireland, and that the Irish ought to elect a *Milesian* King, and extirpate the English, was never yet condemned by the Bishops;† that a sycophant Priest, who, in order to please them, had given a blasphemous toast at a public dinner—"The

* Belling reckons this defeat, the greatest that the Irish received in the course of the war, as a judgment for that perfidy.

† This book was burned by order of the Nobility and Gentry who had outvoted the Nuncio on this subject. But copies were handed about, and eagerly read by the *faction*; nor was it condemned, even in the National Synod of 1666, though Walsh repeatedly demanded that it should. See his *Remonstr.* p. 587, 667, 737.

“health of *the Trinity*, viz. God, the Nuncio,
 “and Owen Roe, and all who do not drink
 “this toast to be counted heretics,”—was
 rewarded with a Deanery;* that in the in-
 structions to the Irish Agents abroad, the
 Bishops had arrogated to themselves the right
 of dictating;† that they excommunicated or
 deposed from his functions every Clergyman
 who dared to write or to speak against their
 proceedings; and that, at this rate, the Govern-
 ment of the Country could never act with
 energy against the Parliament.

Unaccustomed to any other language than
 that of the vilest adulation, and blindest sub-
 mission to all their censures, and astonished by
 that christian fortitude, of which Clanricard

* Belling's Preface, p. 18. “Propino verbis salutem Trinitatis, Dei scilicet, Eugenii O'Neil, et D. Nuntii, quam quisquis bibere recusaverit, pro Heretico habendus erit!”

† They plainly declared in the new Assembly appointed by their faction in 1647, that they would not agree to any instructions to foreign Agents, unless they might frame *them to their own mind*, and so the *instructions* were, on Jan. 4, delivered by the Council to the Clergy, who corrected them accordingly.” Carte, v. 2, p. 19.

had given such an illustrious example, the Bishops now became sensible of the necessity of keeping measures with the Gentry, who were supported by nearly a thousand of the second order of the Clergy; and therefore, giving way, *for a time*, to the storm which they themselves had raised, they affected great willingness to co-operate with the Assembly, and now, for the first time, did they issue an excommunication against all who should aid the regicide Generals against their Country. In the mean time however, they held private consultations and conventicles, from which they excluded all but themselves; and they had other designs in contemplation, of which *Clanricard* was utterly unaware.

Their Private Treaty with the D. of Lorraine.

160. In the course of their foreign negotiations,* they had discovered that Cha. D. of Lorraine, who had married his cousin German,

* Carte's Originals, C C. 5, B B. 233, and his Orm. v. 2, p. 126.

had afterwards fallen in love with *Beatrice de Cusance*, as Henry VIII. of England had with A. Boleyne, and had married her in 1637, and was suing out a divorce in the Roman Court, from his wife, in favour of his mistress, and had some plausible reasons, which sycophant Ecclesiastics undertook to maintain, by various publications and memorials at Rome.

Yes—the spirit of intrigue had found its way into the very Sanctuary, and the *abomination of desolation* was in the holy place. Several years had elapsed, during which the Duke had pressed this matter on the Court of Rome, with all the influence he could, when, hearing of the state of Ireland, he fancied that by engaging in that Catholic cause, he would become so popular in Rome, as to have his bastard son declared legitimate, so as to enable him to succeed to his dominions.

Full of these infamous expectations, he had offered his services to Charles I, in 1645, as appears from Queen Henrietta Maria's letter, in Clanricard's Memoirs; and this, with *other*

circumstances which they had discovered,* induced the Irish Bishops, *so far back as in* 1648, to depute to him privately *French* of Ferns, and Will; De Burgo, a Dominican Friar, Prior of the Convent of Athenry, to demand his aid.

In consequence of this, and of other subsequent applications, through the traitor *Rochfort*, who covered his design with an affectation of pity for his distressed Prince, the Duke sent *Oliver Synot*, an Irish Colonel then in his service, with *Rochfort*, on pretence of raising men in Ireland, as was usual with the Catholic continental powers in those days, but really to ascertain whether he could, on paying a stipulated sum of money to the King, obtain possession of *Duncannon*, *Limerick*, *Galway*, or any other strong inlet, through which he hoped, with the help of the Bishops, to make himself master of the kingdom.

Synot and *Rochfort* arrived in Ireland May

* See their own account in the *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 525, from original MSS. in the Irish Dominican Convent of S. Sixtus at Rome,—and again p. 695, *ib.*

21, 1650, when Ormond was in the greatest distress; they pretended that they had written instructions, but that, having been chased by Parliament frigates, they threw them overboard.—Ormond, who was very suspicious, particularly of Rochfort, wishing to fathom the depth of this affair, told them, that though it was a matter of the highest importance, with respect to which he had no instructions, yet, if they would advance £10,000, he would treat with them and write to the King. Many conferences were held, and many days elapsed, during which, a veil of mystery appeared to hang over the conduct of Rochfort, when the Captain of the vessel who had carried him and Synot into Ireland, and who was to advance the money, sailed unexpectedly out of the harbour, June 25, 1651.

Ormond thought it his duty to send *Lord Taafe* with an account of these proceedings to the D. of Yorke, then at Jersey; and the Duke, wishing, at all events, to raise money for the service of Ireland, gave Taafe a Letter of Credence to the D. of Lorraine, enabling him to

enter into such a treaty, as might procure for Ormond the supplies he desired. Taafe arrived at Bruxelles in November, and the *D. of Lorraine*, without further ceremony, gave him £5000 for the service of his Countrymen.*

Overwhelmed by this apparent magnanimity, Taafe gave him his bond on behalf of Ireland, for that sum. But the Duke returned it, a few days after, with a message, that his Lordship's word was of more value, and that what he had given was *but an earnest* of what he intended for Ireland.

Taafe, now beginning to suspect a design, asked what retribution he expected for such magnanimity? He replied ~~none~~, ~~no~~—~~not~~ *one farthing*;—and he ascribed all this generosity to his bowels of compassion for the Irish nation!—Taafe asked him by what *title*, and by what commission he would undertake so glorious, but yet so hazardous an enterprize, as the relief of Ireland? “No other title, said he,

* Carte's Originals, D D. 4, 26, 95, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, and his *Orm.* v. 2, p. 126.

“*than D. of Lorrain.*—But, I expect entire
 “*obedience from all the Irish, I will not serve*
 “*by commission from any man.*”

Confounded by what he heard, Lord Taafe now begged leave to refer the whole transaction to Ormond, who he supposed was still in Ireland; he suggested that a confidential Agent should be deputed for that purpose; and *Stephen de Hennin*, being accordingly commissioned, landed at Galway Feb. 26, 1651.

161. Nothing was less expected by Lord *Clanricard* than the arrival of a foreign Ambassador at Galway, at such a time. But what most astonished him, was, that the *Letters of Credence* were not addressed either to Ormond or to him, but to the *Estates of the Kingdom of Ireland*.

He now discovered that, so far back as on the 5th of October, 1650,* six Bishops,

* “*Nos commissarii, Deputati a Congregatione cleri totius Regni Hiberniæ, (false!) habita in oppido Jamestown, die sexto Augusti, anno Salutis 1650, cum auctoritate et potestate ejusdem congregationis, ad tractanda, disponenda, expedienda et agenda quæcunque negotia spectantia et conducentia*

whom the Jamestown Synod had deputed to sit as a Committee of public safety, at Galway, with power to subdelegate whom they pleased, to make a treaty with foreign powers, had really so deputed *French of Ferns*, and the

ad Catholicæ in hoc Regno Religionis, Regionum jurum, et hujus nationis conservationem, prout constat ex Commissione Congregationis super hoc data, *undecimo* ejusdem Augusti 1650, reponentes specialem ac certam fiduciam et confidentiam in prudentia, fidelitate, et integritate dilectorum nobis illustrissimi et Rev. D. Nicolai *French*, Episcopi Fernensis, Comitum et Assistantis Sacræ Capellæ Pontificiæ, et D. Hugonis *Rockfort*, Armigeri, constitumus, nominamus, et authorizamus Procuratores nostros, dictos Dominos Nicolaum et Hugonem, et quemlibet illorum, junctim et separatim nostro, et Catholicorum hujus Regni nomine, ad proponendum, agendum perficiendum, ac conveniendum cum quovis Catholico Principe, Statu, Republica, Persona aut Personis, (*they set up the kingdom to sale!*) quodcunque negotium aut rem, quæ dictis R. D. Nicolao et D. Hugoni Procuratoribus nostris, aut cuivis illorum, junctim ac separatim videbitur, seu judicabitur necessaria, expediens, aut conducens ad Catholicæ inter nos Religionis et Nationis conservationem, et hisce promittimus eu spondemus, ac in nos suscipimus, nostri et Catholicorum Regni nomine, quod testificabimur, approbabimus, confirmabimus et præstabimus quemcunque Actum, pactum, aut conventionem dicti R. D. Nicolaus et D. Hugo, Procuratores nostri, aut quilibet illorum aget, concludet, aut determinabit virtute hujus nostræ commissionis. Datum Galviæ quinto Octobris, Anno D. 1650."

traitor *Hu: Rochfort*, jointly or separately to conclude any treaty they pleased, on behalf of the *whole Irish Catholic nation*; expressly declaring in their *commission*, now before me, that they will hold the *whole nation* strictly bound by *any thing* that *Rochfort* or *Ferns* may conclude!—Clanricard discovered also that, in consequence of this commission, French and Rochfort had sailed from Galway, to conclude with Lorrain; nor was his surprise diminished, or his indignation soothed, when he discovered from his cousin, the Rev. *G. Dillon*, that Lorrain's proposals were nothing short of a total alienation of the Irish crown!

I can rather fancy, than describe what he felt, when he was informed that, unless he consented, he should be stigmatized as an heretic, a betrayer of his religion, and an enemy to his Country!

162. Having ascertained the truth of these facts, he assembled as many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, as could be collected, at that time; and, after a solemn declaration that neither he nor they could dispose of the

crown, he ordered Lorrain's Envoy to quit the kingdom, sending him a verbal message, that he would represent his conduct to his master, in such terms as it deserved.

Startled at a boldness, which, in such circumstances, they little expected, the Bishops now proposed to *Hennin* to advance £20,000 on the security of *Limerick* and *Galway*, as cautionary towns, and to refer the articles of *absolute civil and military power*, which his master claimed, to be settled in a subsequent treaty at Brussels. *Hennin* knowing his master's designs, began now to talk more mildly; he said that the Duke would do great things, if Agents were sent to him; he agreed in *proposals* with the Bishops; and they assured Clanricard of a great revolution in their affairs, provided Agents were sent to Lorrain.

Involved in difficulties, and little suspecting a trap, Clanricard agreed on the 4th of April, 1651, *providing* however for the *consent of the Queen, the D. of York, and Ormond*; and Sir N. Plunket, an episcopal favourite, who had been Knighted by the Pope, was sent with

Mr. G. *Brown*, to treat with *Lorrain*, in conjunction with *Taafe*, on whose loyalty *Clanricard* implicitly relied. Plunket and Brown arrived at Brussels about the middle of June, when *Taafe* was in Paris. There they found *French of Ferns* and *Rochfort* in high favour, and, already so far advanced in a *private treaty* of their own, as to have engaged, that if the Queen, the D. of York, and Ormond, should deny their consent to the mortgage of the kingdom of Ireland, they themselves would, in virtue of the power delegated to them by the Bishops, put what remained of the kingdom into the Duke's hands !*

French went even so far as to disclaim all connection with *Clanricard's* Envoys. He himself, he said, was the accredited Agent of Ireland; he had his commission signed by the Bishops; and who could be so impudent as to controvert his authority? He added, that *Clanricard* and his abettors were excommuni-

* See the *Conclusion* of these sheets.

ated by the Nuncio, as well as by all the Bishops of Ireland, assembled in the Synod of Jamestown; that neither he, nor any of his party was ever absolved; and how could so pious a Prince as the D. of Lorrain, pay any other attention than that of *hostility*, to men who were enemies to the Holy See?

163. Overwhelmed by the spiritual audacity and power of a Court favourite, Plunket and Brown began now to consider that they must keep measures with a man who was determined to persecute them in a foreign land! He talked of nothing less than the holy office; and they represented to him their willingness to accede to any reasonable measures for the salvation of their Country.

"Gentlemen, said he, you must confess your error in resisting the Father of Christendom.—Prostrate yourselves before the Minister of the Holy See, and, on the behalf of all Ireland, demand, entreat, supplicate for *absolution*; then, and then *only*, can you make such an agreement with the D. of Lorrain, as will be acceptable to God.—You may be assured that

God never will grant success to any treaty with Clanricard, or to any of his aiders, who are *withering under excommunications!*"

Seduced by the plausible air of affected piety, from which this exhortation seemed to proceed, Plunket and Brown yielded, and the episcopal battle was won! They signed a treaty with *Lorrain*, in *Taafe's* absence, July 12, 1651, by which the Duke was invested with the absolute sovereignty of the kingdom; and *Plunket* was persuaded by *Ferns* to sign a petition to the Pope, by which, on behalf of all Ireland, he demanded absolution, and professed unlimited submission to the See of Rome!

Brown refused to subscribe this second instrument, though he had signed the first; and Lord *Taafe's* name was annexed in his absence, and without his knowledge or consent!—Forgery was added to sacrilege; and the spiritual power of the keys, that sacred authority which was committed *equally* to all Bishops, by the voice of inspiration, for the benefit of immortal souls, and in reference to *eternity*, was made

subservient to ambition, instrumental to malignity, and prostituted to intrigue!*

* These expressions may appear strong; but the following letter, written by *French*, at this very time, to *Plunket* and to *Brown*, then at Brussels with him, will justify their severity.

“ Brussels, July 20, 1651,

“ I do with all sincerity offer my own opinion, that you
 “ would immediately, with humble hearts, make a submission
 “ to his Holiness, in the name of the nation, and beg the
 “ Apostolical benediction. The necessity of doing this is the
 “ greater, that the person from whom you come with autho-
 “ rity, (Clanricard) is for several causes excommunicated, *a*
 “ *jure et homine*, and is at Rome accounted a great contemner
 “ of the *authority* and *dignity* of Churchmen, and persecutor
 “ of my Lord Nuntio, &c. Do you think God will prosper
 “ a contract grounded upon the authority of such a man?
 “ Go therefore, even immediately, to his Holiness’s Inter-
 “ nuncio in this city, to make this happy submission, “ *quia*
 “ *nescit tarda malimina Spiritus S. Gratia.*”—This being done,
 “ go on cheerfully with your contract with this *most Catho-*
 “ *lique Prince*, (Yes!—who was then living in a state of
 “ adultery) who, did he rightly know the business, without
 “ such submission, would never enter upon a bargain to pre-
 “ serve, or rather to restore holy religion in a kingdom, with
 “ Agents bringing their authority from a *withered, accursed*
 “ *hand*.—For my part, upon the denial to hear my humble
 “ prayer, which I hope will not happen, I will withdraw
 “ myself, a man despairing of any fruit to come from an
 “ *unsound trunk*, where there is no sap of grace, and am

What—start at this! when sixty years have spread
 Their grey experience o'er thy hoary head!
 Is this the all observing age could gain?
 Or hast thou known the world so long in vain?
 “ *An nihil in melius tot rerum proficis usu?* ”

164. The first article of the treaty stipulated that the D. of Lorrain should be vested with the *royal authority*, and title of Protector Royal of Ireland!—The second declared that—constant, perpetual obsequiousness of *duty and fidelity* shall be paid to his *Holiness, and the Apostolic See*.

The fourth article, indeed, required that, whenever Ireland should be restored to its *primitive* state, the Duke or his heirs should resign in favour of the King of England; but the fifth declared that neither he nor they should ever resign, until reimbursed in *all* expenses; and that, until then, the kingdom

“ resolved to communicate no more with you on this *affair*,
 “ but *rather to let the Prince know, &c.* ”

Compare Carte's Originals, D D. 274, &c. 411, 436, 454, 496, 499, with the Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 3130, 3157, 3213, 3224, and Carte's Orm. v. 2, p. 150, &c. with the Extract in Cox's Ch. II, p. 59. Clarend. Ir. Rebel. p. 271, &c.

should owe him *exact obedience*, without reservation to any superiority whatsoever; the seventh gave to him *solely and absolutely all military power*, for the *present* and the *future*! By the sixteenth, *Galway, Limerick, Athenry, Athlone, Waterford*, and *Duncannon*, when recovered from the enemy, were to be immediately surrendered to the forces which the Duke was to send, and to be garrisoned and commanded as he pleased!

Seven weeks had elapsed before Clanricard heard of these transactions, during which the preparations of the Parliament forces to penetrate into Connacht, were steady and progressive; whilst on the Irish side every thing fluctuated between allegiance to Clanricard, or obedience to reiterated excommunications!

As soon as the intelligence reached him, burning with indignation, he wrote to *Lorrain* from Athenry, Oct. 20, 1651, that—

“The Commissioners had violated their trust, and were guilty of high treason, and had abused him by a counterfeit shew of a *private instrument fraudulently procured*, without the knowledge or consent of the generality of the nation, or persons of greatest quality and interest therein.—To make such deceitful

practices the more apparent, says he, I send your Highness an authentic copy of my instructions which accompanied their commission; and, it is a necessary duty in me, to inform your Highness that the Bishop of Ferns hath ever been violent against, and malicious to his Majesty's authority and Government, and a fatal instrument in fomenting all these divisions, that have rent asunder this kingdom; and that you may clearly know his disposition, I send you a copy of part of a letter written by him to the Lord Taafe, Sir N. Plunket, and Jeffery Brown, (dated as above, July 20, 1651,) and submit it to you whether those expressions be agreeable to the temper of the Apostolical Spirit; and, considering whose person and authority I represent, what ought to be the reward of such a crime."

165. Lorrain, artful, designing, covetous of money, which was all he had to leave to his bastard children, in case of his failing to procure a divorce, and finding now that he had no prospect of success, availed himself of these dissensions to withdraw all his promises, and refused treating with the Agents without the approbation of their King. Charles II, who, after the Worcester fight, had escaped into France, wrote to him, Feb. 6, 1652, thanking him for this reply, and proposed a new treaty for the relief of Ireland; but he had, by this time, closed the chapter of divorce, which was rejected in Rome, and he returned for answer,

“that his Majesty had nothing remaining in Ireland for which he could contend.”

Mean time the Irish Bishops, having received letters from their Agents, at Brussels, convened several Synods, in which they declared the Duke *Protector Royal* of the Irish nation. They excommunicated all those who should dare to reject his authority; they resolved that the Prelates of each Province should name two to compose a new *Supreme Council of eight*, with full power to decide on *all matters* civil and military, with the consent of the Bishops; they prepared a sentence of excommunication against Clanricard, and his adherents, to be published at a convenient time; and whilst they thus usurped the whole authority of the State, they styled this proceeding a revival of their original and holy confederacy of 1642!

Athlone had surrendered to Coote, almost without firing a shot, on the 8th of July, 1651;*

* Sir C. Coote with 600 horse and 1200 foot is marched to Athlone, which place it is thought the Lord Dillon will deliver up, there being some divisions amongst the Irish,

yet, with the enemy in the centre of the kingdom, Primate Reily summoned a Provincial Synod at *Clochuachter*, at which the Bishops of *Kilmore* and *Cluanmacnoise*, and several others attended to consider the *state of the nation* !

Father A. Geoghagan, who had lately arrived from Rome with *instructions*,* opened the first session with a speech, in consequence of which it was *decided*, that no Bishop should be admitted to the general Assembly, unless he was absolved from the censures of Rinuccini; that all who did not submit to the D. of Lorraine should be excommunicated; that the Bishops of each Province should take an *oath of secrecy*; that Clanricard and his adherents should be excommunicated; and all those who had resisted Rinuccini's censures, and had not been absolved!—*Anthony Geoghagan* Bishop of Cluanmacnoise, and the above *A. Geogha-*

through the pride of their Clergy; and the Earl of Westmeath having lately taken a castle of the Lord Dillon, and put all therein to the sword." How did Cromwell discover that Westmeath had *declared for the Bishops*? *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 42, p. 553.

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 3130, &c. 3157, 3213.

gan Prior of Kilbeggan, were commissioned by this Synod to communicate its *decrees* to the Bishops of Leinster, to invite them to follow their example, and to exhort and urge them to raise forces in their several districts; Nic: Bern, Proxy for the Bishop of Down, was dispatched with a similar errand to the Bishops of Connacht, and, strange as it may appear, the *Acts* of this Synod of Clochuachter were confirmed by all! They were adopted by a Synod of Leinster, which the Bishop of Leighlin, as *senior*, took upon him to convene at Belach-Droichet, September 1, 1651, and by a Synod of Connacht at Jamestown; and the Bishops of both these Provinces engaged to raise an army of 14,000 men by excommunications, without further delay!

Lord Clanricard's last struggle for Ireland.

166. Every thing in Connacht, with the exception of about 3000 men under Lord Clanricard, was now infected with *blind* obedience to uncanonical and *ambitious* excommunications;

and whilst Cromwell's *saints*, commanded by Ireton and Gorte, were steadily pressing forward from Leinster and from Munster, they were aided by the *saints* of the Roman Court, who were actually engaged in a *private treaty* with Cromwell, against Clanricard, the only person they could reasonably count upon for protection, against the merciless edge of the Puritanical sword!

Thwarted by intrigues, Clanricard wrote to the King for succours; he proposed to throw himself into Limerick, which he hoped to defend until such succours should arrive; and he urged the D. of Lorraine to the same effect.

—But Limerick proved as obstinate to him as to Ormond. The people, urged by their agitators, peremptorily rejected his proposal; they indeed admitted the gallant defender of Clonmel, *Hu: boy O' Nial*, with the *title* of Governor, but the Mayor and Citizens retained all power to themselves.

167. Clanricard's plan was such, as would infallibly have saved the Country, if the Bishops had as sincerely co-operated with him.

But they most fatally obstructed all his designs, and treacherously co-operated with the enemy.

The natural strength of Connacht, the communication open with France, the possession of Galway, Limerick, and Athlone, towns strongly fortified by nature and by art, an army of 7000 foot and 1500 horse under Castlehaven, in Munster,* above 7000 hardy veterans, and several detached parties under his own command, in Connacht,† a population which might have been, with the help of the Clergy, formed into flying armies, all this was more than amply sufficient to drive the Puritanical regicides into

* Perfect Diurnal, No. 61, p. 818. They were reduced to 4000 before they left Munster, to join Clanricard, May, 1651; and these 4000, disheartened by their suspicions of *Clanricard* and *Castlehaven*, whom they deemed excommunicated, deserted by hundreds on their march to Athlone. As soon as they heard that the passes of *Bryan's bridge* and *Killaloe* were betrayed by Captain *Kelly* and Col. *Fennel*, believing that God had deserted their excommunicated leaders, they all fled into the bogs, with the exception of forty horse, the only aid *Castlehaven* could give to *Clanricard*, who could never after draw any considerable body into the field. The Irish in all places eagerly submitting to the enemy. Carte, v. 2, 154.

† Carte says "7000 foot and 1800 horse." Ibid. 248 .9

the Eastern sea. The five passes of the Shannon, *Limerick*, *Killaloe*, *Bryan's bridge*, *Portumna*, and *Athlone*, were yet in his possession, down to the 8th of July, 1651. Through these he could invade the enemy at *five different points at once*. Ireton was, at one time, so alarmed at this, in the winter of 1651—2, when his head quarters were at Kilkenny, that he mentions it with fearful anxiety in a letter dated Waterford, Feb. 8, 1652.*

“The enemy came with all the strength they could make, out of *Thomond* and *Connaught*, some by the way of *Limerick*, and others by *Athlone*, others at *Portumna*, and appointed their general rendezvous in the further parts of *Tipperary*, which are something mountainous and full of fastnesses; sent out orders to all their *Tory* parties within our quarters to rendezvous with them, and designing a general rising in the Country, upon that opportunity of our supposed inability, &c. and indeed we were very low, so as if God had not broken their design by some divisions amongst them, that hindered their intended conjunctions, they might probably, besides the expected rising of the Countries with them, have made a body of eight or ten thousand, and have had greater opportunities upon us, and advantage for number of men and horse, than I hope they will ever have again. But by the *foresaid divisions* it pleased God to keep them asunder, so as they could not get together.” &c. *Perfect Diurnal*, No. 63, p. 842.

168. What became of the noble spirit of Ireland at this time? Where were the *O'Nials* and the *O'Brians*, the *O'Conors* and the *O'Sullivans*? Where the *O'Donnells*, the *O'Byrnes*, the *Laceys*, the *Plunkets*, the *Wallises*, the *MacCarthys*, *Browns*? men of the most dauntless bravery, men proverbially prodigal of life, men who would have immortalized the fame, and illustrated the annals of any nation on the face of the globe?

One of those heroes, whose name is almost forgotten by his Countrymen, as soon as he heard of Cromwell's invasion, threw himself on his knees before the Emperor Ferdinand III,—“I have behaved as a faithful soldier, said he, having exposed my person in several battles, allow me to resign my commission of Colonel, and to fight for my Country.”—Struck with admiration and reverence, the Emperor hung a gold chain and medal about his neck, and having heaped upon him honours and presents, granted his request.* I find no heroism in

* “Colonellus Oliverus Stephenson miles cordatissimus;

ancient or in modern times more noble than this! Where then was he? Where were the *Hibernica fulmina belli*, who rendered themselves afterwards so illustrious and so formidable on the continent? Alas! where the 8000 Irish who about this time enlisted in the service of Austria?* the 25,000 who entered

“ qui in bello germanico variis in præliis magnanimiter in
 “ hostem irruit, postquam belli Hibernici certior factus
 “ fuisset, ut compatriatorum periculis opportune subveniret,
 “ a Ferdinando III. Imperatore, licentiam illuc proficiscendi
 “ petiit, qui ipsi, inter alias remunerationes, ob sua obsequia,
 “ insignem torquem aureum, una cum numismate Iconis sue
 “ dono dedit.” Carve’s Lyra, p. 386.

* “ In pugna juxta *Schnuenitzium*, quidam Herberni sese
 “ strenue gesserunt, ex quibus *Rob. Porcellus*, Comitis *Gall*
 “ excubiarum equitum Præfectus, ut videre licet in litteris
 “ quas, ob suam strenuitatem, Archidux Lepoldus ipsi in
 “ Hiberniam redeunti, una cum torque et Icone ex purissimo
 “ auro donavit. Item Oliv. *Walseus*, tum locum tenens
 “ Chiliarchi *Moncadi*, nunc vero, ob præclara sua facinora,
 “ Colonellus Legionis, nec non liber Baro et Oppaviæ Com-
 “ mendans, &c.—Dum Hibernorum valorem, et generositatem
 “ in hoc bello Germanico considero, (the forty years war)
 “ video *bis quatuor legiones* Hibernicas pro domo Austriaca
 “ fortiter et strenue dimicasse; quarum Tribuni *Jacobus*
 “ *Walterus*, et *Edmundus* ex familia *Butleriana*, *Wilhelmus*
 “ *Gall*, *Malachias Kelly*, *Hugo Tyrell*, *Walterus Devereux*,
 “ *Rob. Giraldus*, et *Oliverus Walseus*, qui omnes fere in

that of France? the 30,000 who went into Spain? where the 40,000 who were afterwards transported into the West Indies?

169. Voltaire says that the Irish were always warlike and formidable abroad, but cowards at home.—Never was any assertion so false. They who are prodigal of life as mercenaries in foreign countries, must be so when fighting for their families and their fire sides. Inquiring *honestly* for the cause of failures at home, we must find it in a source very different from cowardice, yes—in foreign-influenced censures, and *Pastoral* intrigues! The people of Limerick

“bello Ferdinandorum Imperatorum extincti sunt; quorum
 “Capellanus multis annis extiti. ib. p. 327, 328. Item Jere-
 “mias *Donovan* et Johannes *Murrian*, e quibus Donovan in
 “lova globulo trajectus, ob suam dexteritatem ac magnani-
 “mitatem, a supremis Ducibus Civitatis Pragensis apud S.
 “Cæsaream Majestatem plurimum commendatus fuit.”

Circa hæc tempora, duo ex Hiberniæ nobilibus adoles-
 centes, inter ephebos quondam Ferdinandi III, ejusdem filii
 Lepoldi Imperatoris ad omne officii munus instruebantur,
 nimirum Franciscus Vicecomitis *Taaf* filius, et Carolus
O'Conor, ex prosapia olim Hiberniæ Regum oriundus, &c.
 ibid. p. 429.—These brave men were driven from their country
 by excommunications on one side, and Cromwell on the
 other.

would receive no garrison from an excommunicated Lord Lieutenant; they would have no soldiers but such as were of the Nuncio's party; they held correspondence with Ireton; and the siege was not formed three days when they clamoured for a capitulation !

Father of men, say what detested guile ?
 What foreign plague subdued our native Isle ?
 What poison'd plant our noble Grandsires stung ?
 What hand—Hibernia—has thy harp unstrung ?
Unde nefas tantum Latiis Pastoribus ?—unde
Hæc tetigit, Gradive, tuos urtica nepotes ?

Lord Clanricard most vilely betrayed.

170. Yes ! the people of Limerick were informed that the *Independents* were friends to toleration; that Cromwell and Ireton would befriend Catholicity better than *Ormond* or *Clanricard*; that it signified nothing, as experience shewed, whether the Lord Lieutenant was a Catholic or a Protestant, since *Clanricard* opposed the Bishops as much as *Ormond* ;*

* “ Quando alterutro e duobus Hæreticis succumbere necesse est, uter prevaleat, utri parendum, susque deque habendum esse” Belling's *Vindica*, p. 336.

that the massacres at Drogheda and Wexford, and other places, were owing not to Cromwell or to Ireton, who were humane and religious in their own way, but to the brutality of the soldiery, who were stimulated, not by the *Independents*, but by the Presbyterians; that Cromwell had proclaimed freedom of religion, and that more was to be expected from him, than from Ormond or the Cavaliers!*

171. So far back as in 1649, Col. *Dungan* writes to Ormond that *Antrim's* Chaplain, *Kelly*, was in Dublin with Cromwell, as stated before; Sir T. *Talbot*, whose *original* letter to Ormond is dated Oct. 22, 1650, states that Sir J. *Preston*, after long and *private* discourse with the Bishop of *Dromore*, employed Father Taylor to *Ireton*, with *instructions* signed by *Preston*, but *written by the Bishop*; that he said he would treat with Ireton; that he was sure the Parliament would give the Irish advantageous conditions; that he would procure

* Clarend. Irish Rebel. fol. 261—281. Cromwell's Proclamation, in Carte, v. 2, p. 90.

an Assembly in Leinster to treat with the enemy; that he would rather call in the Turk than submit to the King!—*Talbot* reprobated the excommunications which had sown such hatred and malevolence to loyalty; but *Florence Mac Carthy*, *Phil. Rock*, *Preston*, and others replied, in Spanish, that they never heard any man speak *so against religion, and that Laymen were not to judge of the censures of Bishops!*—So far back as the 7th of September, 1650, Col. *Grace* was imprisoned for correspondence with Ireton. *Castlehaven* complains bitterly of treachery in his letter of May 7, on Antrim's defection to the Parliament. *Clanricard* appeals to God against censures, in his letter to the King, of July 26. Primate *Reily* issued a *Pastoral* for Cromwell's success.* *D. Dempsey*, a Franciscan Friar, and *Long*, a Jesuite, asserted that the King, being a heretic, it was not lawful to pray for him in particular, or even in general, publicly, *except on Good Friday*, and even then only for

* Irish Remonstr. p. 706.

his soul, but not for his *temporal* prosperity. Primate Reily afterwards pleaded favour from the Parliament for the Ulster Irish, because they never had affection to the King or his family, and,—“*as for me*, said he, I was never a well-wisher to any of the four, the King, the Dukes of York, or Gloucester, or Ormond.”—Many overtures, says Borlase, were made by a Priest *O'Reily* to the Committee of Derby house.*

In consequence of these suggestions, an Assembly, convened in the town hall at *Limerick*, Oct. 23, 1651, resolved upon a treaty with Ireton!—The Governor, *Hugh O'Nial*, vehemently opposed it; but *Stretch*, the Mayor, delivered up the keys to Col. *Fennel*, with powder, and permission to act as he thought proper; 200 of Ireton's men were now admitted into S. John's gate, and *Fennel* put an end to all opposition by turning the cannon upon the town! An abominable capitulation ensued,

* Ir. Rebel. fol. 276. Cromwell knew all the secrets of Clauricard as well as he did. *Perfect Diurnal*.

October 27, by which *twenty persons* were exempted from mercy! 34 pieces of artillery, 3500 stand of arms, 83 barrels of powder, and an immense quantity of ammunition were delivered up to the enemy!—I blush to relate that, on the 30th of October, 1651, 1300 officers and soldiers, all able men, *in pay*, marched with colours flying, to ground their arms to regicides, and that there were no less than 4000 men able to bear arms remaining in the town!*

Ireton, writing to the Parliament, in his usual strain of canting, attributes this success to the justice of his cause, the piety of his army; yet, one passage of his letter is *historical*, the rest I leave to *Devotees*. “We cannot tell, says he, whether the danger of present force, or foresight of want, did more incline them; but finde clearly that *divisions and distractions within*, which God alone had

* Orders of the English Parliament for solemn thanks for the fall of Limerick, Nov. 28, 165, compared with *Ireton's Letter to the Speaker*, London, printed by J. Field, 1651, p. 6, &c. and with *Carve's Lyra*, p. 392.

"wrought amongst them, were *most prevalent* towards the surrender!" &c.—Yes—unfortunate Ireland,—this is history! "*Every house divided against itself shall be desolate!*"

Clare followed the fate of Limerick. Galway would have done the same, if the severity of the winter, and Ireton's death, which occasioned some differences relative to his successor, had not put an end to the campaign. Every step we advance demonstrates—Alas! does it require demonstration—that the Irish were conquered by themselves!

Vain attempts to justify the proceedings of the Bishops.

172. I know that excuses have been hazarded for the Bishops, and that their conduct is defended by Bishop Burke of Ossory, so lately as in 1772. But what crime has ever been committed which has not had an apologist?—The best of these apologies is *Curry's*, who, after a gross mistatement of facts, and shameful confusion of chronology, feeling his *inability* to

justify, what he feels not the *shame* of defending, says—"But we will suppose for a moment
 "that the *Catholics of Ireland*, (the question relates to the *Bishops*, not the Catholics,)
 "when their's and the King's forces were almost
 "entirely reduced, invited the D. of Lorrain
 "over, engaging to deliver up the whole Island
 "into his hands, and declare him their Sovereign.—Even so—let the candid and impartial judge, whether a better or more justifiable
 "act could have been thought of!—Were they
 "to be blamed for calling in a foreign Prince of
 "their own religion, rather than submit to
 "Cromwell?" *

I should have hardly expected this apology from an Irishman.—First of all, it is injurious to our Nobility and Gentry, whom it involves in the treasonable practices of *French of Ferns*, *Rochfort*, *Antrim*, and the *Jamestown* and *Galway* Synods; and no imputation can be more false.—It involves *Clanricard* and all his friends in the same imputation; it supposes that

the treasons of the Bishops, and their censures, were the treasons and censures of the *Catholics of Ireland*; it insidiously endeavours to diminish the guilt of a few, by making it *common to all*; it attributes to the noble, generous, and loyal spirit of the Irish Gentry, that episcopal pride and spiritual ambition, which looking forth from the windows of a Convent at Jamestown, brooded with malignant delight over the failures of Ormond and of Clanricard, in the hope of raising itself on their ruins!

In the second place, I disclaim and renounce the infamous position that, because you are reduced to distress, you are justified in truckling to rebellion or impiety! Clanricard was reduced to the utmost distress; he slept only on the bare ground for two months after the fall of Galway; he never took off his clothes during that time; he had no other bread to eat than the black oaten cake of *Imishowek*; he had lost an estate, which, even *then*, was worth to him *seven and twenty thousand pounds*! Why did not he truckle to the regicides? Why did not he surrender the kingdom to a foreign power?

Is this a fit apology for Clergymen? Is there to be no *principle* in the world except in times of *prosperity*, when they are scarcely wanted? Is the doctrine of *principles* only to be boasted of *on paper*, as the V. A. of Castabala boasts of shedding *the last drop of his blood*, when nobody cares for his bungling, and nobody stands in need of his assistance?—Go—you who recur to such vile apologies—Go—read the Pagan Authors, read Cicero's Offices, and Juvenal, upon Steadiness of Principle. The Pagans will rise in judgment against you on the last day.

The fall of Galway owing to the intrigues of the Bishops with the Regicides.

173. Independence gives to every man the privilege of telling truth; it preserves him from the necessity of hypocrisy; it rescues him from the servility of imitation. I believe it will be found, that no man can write *genuine* history, who is not left to his own choice.—For my part, I see no medium between truth and falsehood; and though it is an old observation,

that, when historians censure what is wrong, their reflections are ascribed to malevolence, yet, unawed by any motives which may be imputed to me, I will proceed to shew that the downfall of my Country was owing to the abuse of *spiritual* power, and to the intrigues and episcopal ambition.* I bring to my mortal mind uninfluenced by hope or fear; perfectly disengaged from all party connexions; holding religious clamour in utter abhorrence, and canonical censures in sovereign contempt.

Yes—Cunning without wisdom, intriguing

* I am far from being the first *Irishman* who has lamented, though, perhaps, I am the first who has placed this truth in its proper light. I refer to *Lynch, Belling, and Clapricard*. One of the most exemplary Priests our native Country can boast of, complains with all the anguish of a *genuine Patriot*—

“*Hiberniam non externis hostibus depopulatam, non aliena fraude direptam, sed ab iis quos suis uberibus lactavit; ad instar viperæ, spernendo pacem, et seditionem inter incolas movendo, in supremum Catholicorum Conditum dolos struxerunt; qui Clero et populo temerariis edictis, atque excommunicatione, Divinorum Mysteriorum celebratione interdicere.*” *Carve's Lyra*, p. 370, &c. “*Piam Hibernorum inclinationem quorundam Prælatorum ambitio, et magis inordinatus appetitus vanæ gloriæ quam pietatis, ut fertur, retardarunt.*” *Carve's Lyra*, p. 389.

without sagacity, aiming at worldly power, without any knowledge of the secret springs by which the cabinets of politicians are governed, or the views of statesmen sublimed, the Jamestown and Galway Bishops still pursued their object of aggrandizement, even after Limerick and Athlone, the keys of Connacht, had been irretrievably lost! They employed *Father An. Geoghagan* to carry on a private correspondence with the *Abbe Crelly*, in London, and with *Ludlow*; they fancied that, as Spain had acknowledged the Regicide Government, they could make better terms with Cromwell than with the King. At all events, they hoped that by negotiating in the course of the winter, protracting the negociation, and having *two strings to their bow*, they could afford to the D. of Lorrain leisure for maturing his preparations, employing his spies, dealing out his money, and forwarding his designs.

Geoghagan's letters were forwarded to *Crelly* through the Clerk of the Parliament,*

* Nuncio's Memoirs, fol. 3225, 3241, Carte's Orm. v. 2, p. 155, &c. and his Originals.

and to *Ludlow* by Women and by Vicars General! One of these, dated Galway, Feb. 4, 1652, was intercepted by Clanricard; Geoghagan acknowledged it; but he vehemently protested that it related only to *spiritual* matters, pending between the Bishops and the Court of Rome. Clanricard menaced imprisonment and martial law; but the Bishops asserted clerical immunities, declaring that *all matters* relating to the Church were to be judged and decided *exclusively* by them. The wrath of God was menaced; a mutiny was apprehended in the army; and Clanricard deemed it prudent to remit Geoghagan's trial to the Vicar General of Tuam; demanding, however, that Geoghagan's ciphers, and the key to them should be secured.—But Geoghagan found means to conceal them; and being privately examined by the Bishops of *Cloonfert*, *Down*, *Finnibore* and *Kilmacduach*, and some others of the dignified Clergy, he pleaded the *seal of confession*, and laughed at his prosecutor!

174. Clanricard now wrote to the General Assembly, that he would quit the kingdom, unless the royal authority was upheld; they

indignantly interposed with the Prelates; the Catholic Lawyers insisted that, unless Geoghagan revealed his accomplices, he should be handed over to the civil power.—In vain—the Bishops still pleaded *exclusive* judicature, and immunities; they knew that the mob was on their side, and no justice could be obtained!

The Chairman of the Assembly issued a warrant to have *Geoghagan* arrested; but the Sheriffs pleaded the danger of putting any warrant into execution against the *religious cry* of an excommunicating populace, headed by an excommunicating episcopacy.

This affair engaged the attention of the Nobility, Gentry, Officers, and Clergy, from the 4th of February to the 4th of March, during which, the obstructions thus thrown in their way, prevented their activity in military operations; paved the way for *Ludlow*; and paralyzed the energy of the Irish people!

On the 4th of March, some other letters to *Crelly* were intercepted, which seemed to place Geoghagan's treason beyond the reach of controversy. Again he acknowledged his

hand-writing, and again he pleaded immunity. He added that he was intrusted with *instructions* from Rome, which he could not betray; that his letters were of a *spiritual* nature; and that they were addressed to a man who was equally employed in *spiritual affairs* by the Holy See.

175. Disgusted at finding that no satisfaction could be had, Clanricard left Galway on the 15th; and Geoghagan, boasting of subordination to his Ordinary, went, on the 18th, with the Vicar General, to appear before the Archbishop of Tuam. On the 20th, however, having certain intelligence that *Sir W. Dungan* had sent proofs of his guilt to Clanricard, which could be no longer controverted, he thought it high time to abscond.*

Whilst these treasonable practices occupied Clanricard's attention, *Ludlow*, who succeeded Ireton, advanced towards Galway. The Warden

* The Compiler of the Nuncio's Memoirs gives this account from Geoghagan's narrative, extolling his attachment to the Nuncio, and to the Holy See!

and many others petitioned for leave to surrender the town; and Clanricard, seeing the dangers in which he was involved, wrote to Ludlow, Feb. 14th, that he would, on honourable conditions, *treat with him for the nation at large.*

Aware of the intrigues by which all the Irish operations were obstructed, and confident of his own strength, Ludlow declined this offer, but yet, for a while, he found it necessary to retire from Galway; and it was not until the month of May, that Coote, invited by treason, and encouraged by sedition, appearing suddenly at the gates, offered good terms, and was gratified by an unresisting capitulation!

The Warden and the Nuncio's party, says Carte, without condescending even to consult with Clanricard, and, before any storm or assault was attempted, persuaded the inhabitants to surrender, May 12, 1652!

Treason itself was amazed to see a place of that strength and consequence, with a port open for supplies, surrendered without any resistance, when the Irish had, in loose parties

throughout the kingdom, more men in arms to defend, than *Ludlow* could have brought to invest it; when Connacht was yet entirely Irish; and when Clanricard was within half a day's march of the place!

176. From this disgusting stage of treachery and hypocrisy, Clanricard retreated to the North, with his small army of 3000 men, the only *men* who appeared to be excommunication-proof in the kingdom.—On the fourth day after the surrender of Galway, he took Ballyshannon, and soon after Donnegal, where he established his head quarters; and he held out for several months, hoping that the Bishops, now convinced of their folly, and repenting of their worldly *pride*, or frightened if not converted, would use their influence to raise forces in support of the royal cause.

He had anxiously dispatched Lord Castlehaven in the last week of February to the King, desiring his commands; and now, driven by superior numbers from his positions, he retired into the Isle of Carrick, where he awaited Castlehaven's return, in the utmost distress,

until he at last received the King's permission to make the best terms he could for himself, his friends, and his Country.

He might have provided very well for himself, if he pleased, says Carte, but he would receive nothing from the rebels on his own account, except a pass, and leave to remain in their quarters, *without taking any oath*, until he should settle his affairs, so as to transport 3000 men into the service of any Prince in amity with England.—He soon after retired to his estate at Somerhill, where he died of a broken heart, July, 1657.*

His remains lie at Tunbridge—shall I say unhonoured and forgotten by his Countrymen? Yes—this is the fatality that awaits true greatness.—Whilst others are sheltered from obloquy by their insignificance, or raised to honours and affluence by the fortune of war, those who have no object in view but a conscientious dis-

* See the pedigree of *De Burgh*, prefixed to his *Memoirs*, Lond. 1757, fol. p. xv.

~~He and Ormond were excepted from life and estate by~~
the Parliament, Aug. 12, 1652.

charge of duty, must look for their reward to a better world.—Has any monument been erected by Catholic Ireland to perpetuate the memory of *Clanricard*? Has any tear of Irish gratitude bedewed his tomb? Has any justice been done to his spotless integrity, in any one of the innumerable speeches and pamphlets which have pleaded the cause of the Catholic, or mourned his exclusion from the birth-right of his Ancestors, the blessings of the Constitution?—He had been invited by every thing that was most powerful in Connacht, by the Assembly held at *O'Connor's* castle of Ballintober, in 1642, to put himself at the head of that Province with unlimited command; a deputation was sent thence to invite him, and the King's permission alleged to induce him to join; he answered that he could accept of no such command but from the King.*—When he saw how many competitors there were for advancement in Ormond's army, after the peace of

* Deposition of Hu: O'Connor, taken Feb. 11, 1643, Archdal's Irish Peerage, vol. 2, p. 192.

Kilkenny, in 1649, with a disinterestedness and a loyalty, *in which qualities he had no superior*,* he resigned his claim of Lieutenant General to the absolute disposal of the King.

I have strolled in pensive silence amongst the tombs of Westminster Abbey; and whilst, seized with religious awe, I contemplated, in that venerable pile, the solemn scenes which surrounded me, the deep toned organ, the lofty arch, the monuments of sages and heroes, and *religion*, that link which connects heaven and earth, mortality with immortality, I looked round in vain for the monument of a *Clanricard*!—There, however, I found that of a Shadwell, and of a stage player, favourites of fortune! There I espied crafty politicians, who, for selfish and sordid purposes, caused the desolation of the human race!—Perhaps this is right. Perhaps if virtue were always honoured in this world, it would lose somewhat of *unclouded* immortality in the next. *Clanricard*! I cannot dwell on thy disinterested integrity, all

* Carte's Orm. v. 2, p. 60.

thou hast suffered, all thou hast felt, on the part of thy own brethren, of those who ought to have afforded thee thy greatest consolation in calamity, without recollecting that there are saints in the Calendar who are *not in heaven*, and saints in heaven who are not in the Calendar. I quarrel not with Westminster Abbey, but with the Irish writers!—*Archdal* and *Harris* are almost silent;* and poor expatriated *Carve* is the only of our writers who seems to have *felt* what Ireland owes to the memory of *Ulick de Burgh*.†

Conclusion of Part II.

177. Such was the fatal issue of a war, which, in the course of eleven years, cost Ireland *six hundred and eighty-nine thousand persons!* ‡

* *Archdal's Irish Peerage*, v. 1, p. 136, *Harris's Writers*.

† “Ab ineunte ætate *maximus Catholicæ Religionis cultor*, suo Regi *fidissimus*, Rerum Divinarum humanarumque scientia præditus, nec non sermone facundus, cujus denique existimatio nominis apud Hibernos et Anglos *celebris habebatur*.” He mistakes however in stating his death, “*Londini 6to Id. Maii, 1658*,” *Lyra*, p. 422.

‡ *Petty's Anatomy*.

was fomented by foreign intriguers, who availed themselves of the haughty pride and the ambitious views of Prelates, to cast off their sworn allegiance, to violate repeatedly the public faith, and to bring an indelible reproach upon their Country.

Having now given, from *genuine* documents, a faithful account of the leading events of those times, I leave it to my Countrymen to judge, what credit is due to the statements of those foreign-influenced writers, who, copying servilely the declamatory calumnies of *French of Ferns's Unkind Deserter*, and other such effusions of malevolence, confounding chronology, suppressing some leading facts, and palliating and misrepresenting others, inform us that Ormond *approved* and *advised* the King's declaration at *Dunfermline*,* that the James-town censures *originated* in his Presbyterianism, and that he and Clanricard betrayed the Irish nation!

Having demonstrated that the same doc-

* Curry's Civil Wars, v. 2, 2d ed. p. 31, b. 8, c. xi.

times, by which a Catholic Lord Lieutenant was overwhelmed with calumny and censures, in 1651, 1652, 1665, &c. are ~~avowed~~ by Bishop Burke of Ossory, in 1772, and by the *Castabals*, and by the Synods of *Tullow* and *Dublin*, in 1809, 1810, and 1811. I now humbly move, on the part of all sincere Catholics, that the *Grenvilles* and the *Greys*, the *Grattans* and the *Sheridans*, the *Whitbreads*, the *Ponsonbys*, &c. &c. may hold up in our behalf, the strong *Ægis* of Constitutional Law, founded on those Laws of the *four first General Councils*, which have been, in the 1st of Elizabeth, recognised by the *English Church*.

I humbly propose to the Catholics of Ireland,—

1. That, on condition of *unqualified Civil Emancipation*, they may put a *final end*, as the Supreme Council of Kilkenny meant to do, to all foreign nominations to Irish Sees.*
2. That the Chapter of each vacant Diocese may, as formerly, elect three candidates, one of

* See above, p. 131, &c. and *Columbus* No. 11210

whom is to be confirmed in a Provincial Synod, convened by the Metropolitan, or senior Bishop, who is to preside.

3. That the chief Governor shall have a *negative*, such as was granted to the D^y of Ormond by the Pope's Nuncio *De Vecchiis*, at Somerset House, in 1664.

4. That no Bishop shall gratify his pride or his malice, or forward any private designs by censuring, deposing, or suspending any Clergyman without a *canonical* trial in a Synod, or legal tribunal, the *Acts* of which may, if that Clergyman chooses, be *made public*.

5. That any Bishop who shall, in any sermon or writing, stigmatize another as a *heretic* or *schismatic*, until these imputations are publicly proved, in a Synod, or legal tribunal, shall, as ordained by the Canons, be himself deposed.

6. That there shall be no longer *Vicars Apostolic*, but only Bishops, in the British Islands.

7. That Parochial Schools be established for the Irish poor.

8. That the dues and stipends of the Irish Clergy be regulated by law.

I now declare that I have in this, and my former works, most religiously adhered to truth! May that day be my last, when I will dare to injure any man's character by calumny, or to publish a falsehood, either to gratify the feelings of friendship, which I hope are deeply laid in my nature, or to indulge in malignity or revenge.

I have been occasionally harsh to the V. A. of Castabala, but the pen of inspiration says "*Responde stulto juxta stultitiam suam,*" and they who are convicted of the *grossest calumnies*, must not be treated with indiscriminate respect. The questions discussed by *Columbanus* turn not upon genuine episcopal power, but upon atrocious worldly *abuses of that power*, which no writer ought to countenance, and no Clergyman ought to overlook; especially as they have been the polluted source of an *Iliad* of calamities to our native Country, as I have abundantly shewn in these sheets; and they may become so again, on a future occasion, unless they are utterly eradicated, by a *legal establishment of those canonical liberties*, commonly called *Gallican*, which the Bishops

have taken it upon themselves, in a *Secret Synod*, to deny to the Irish nation!—With regard to the V. A. of Castabala, (I beg pardon for having so often disgraced these pages by any allusions to him) I allude to him now, only to mention that, having been appointed *ad libitum*, and only for a limited time, his power has, if I am not much mistaken, either been withdrawn, or has expired. Let him produce his charter; let us see by what authority it has been granted, by what *intrigue* it has been renewed.

Countrymen—I take my leave—Beware of two extremes—*false philosophy* which will deprive you of the Sacraments; and *Italian* maxims of discipline, which will impose upon the necks of your Parish Priests, and consequently upon your own, the doctrine of arbitrary excommunications. Then, instead of your holy and sublime religion, you will have the *miracles* of well-worshiping, the holy house of *Loreto*, the blood of S. Januarius, the visions, the prophecies, and the revelations of Devotees; miracles such as those by which *Father Murphy* stopped, with his hand, the bullets

which were fired by the King's troops at Vinegar hill; the miracles of *Genazzano* in Italy, where every thing is miraculous; and those of the *Druidic*, excommunicated Wells of Ireland and Wales! The recent miracles of the Roman *Court*, the pictures opening their eyes, and the prodigies of the Roman Breviary,* are more prodigious than the *genuine* miracles of the primitive ages, and for this some cause must be assigned.†—Did recent *Canonizations*

* The learned Dominican Natalis Alexander maintains against the Castabals of the Roman *Court*, that “the authority of the Roman Breviary must yield to the *genuine* documents of antiquity.” The *Courtiers* opposed and censured him; but he was supported by all the learned; and he bore away the palm. See his *Sæc. 3*, *Dissert xiv*, t. 1, p. 698, and again more victoriously p. 733.

* Miracles were neither so frequent nor so prodigious in the days of Pope Gregory the Great, who fairly acknowledges that they had in a great degree ceased even then.

“Numquidnam Fratres mei, *quia ista signa non facitis, minime creditis? Sed hæc necessaria in exordio Ecclesiæ fuerunt. Ut enim ad fidem cresceret multitudo credentium, miraculis fuerat nutrienda. Quia et nos cum arbusta plantamus, tamdiu eis aquam infundimus, quousque ea in terra jam coaluisse videamus; et si semel radicem fixerint irrigatio cessabit. Hinc est enim quod Paulus dicit.—Lingvæ in signum sunt non fidelibus sed infidelibus.*” *Gr. ii Magni Homil. 29*, in *Evangel.*

bring any grist to the Roman mill?—Let us not inquire of Spain or Portugal !

God avails himself of our sins, to correct the *abuses* which our passions have introduced into his Church, and the *worldly* mill has been destroyed ! But the *gold* will come purified from this ordeal ; and the surrounding Sects shall see that there is some difference between reformation of abuses and extirpation of truth.

I conclude with the adjuration in the 2d of Maccabees.—“ I beseech those who shall read
 “ this book, *that they be not shocked at these*
 “ *calamities, but consider the things that hap-*
 “ *penned, not as being for the destruction, but*
 “ *for the correction of our nation ; for it is a*
 “ *token of great goodness, when sinners are not*
 “ *allowed to go on in their ways, for a long time,*
 “ *but are presently punished !*”

END OF PART II.

ERRATA.

The Reader is requested to make the following emendations.

Contents, p. iv, line 19, add.—*Foolish tales substituted for Irish History*.—Compare pages 259, 261, 263, 293, and 319, with page 239

Contents, p. iv, line ult. for 285 read 255

Page

62 note, read---συμβουλαι

ib.....υποτασσεσθε

72 line penult, read---*assidebant*

74 line 10, read---says

96 note, read---*totum* and *novum*

112 last line, read---in Ecclesiastici Regiminis Societatem ad-
mittebant

125 note, add as a Title---*First surrender of the Independence of an Irish Parliament to the English Commons*

137 read---the Nuncio's proposal of a *Veto* to Ormond may
be seen in the 3d part of this work

172 note, add---page 223 and 224

209 line ult. read---to Sir John

493 line 9, read---*He must produce his Charter in a Court of Law for an Action of Slander*

J. Seeley, Printer, Buckingham.









